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This booklet is a composite of a transcript of an institute held in the Sausalito (Calif.) Unified School District to increase the knowledge of present and future teachers and to present information which could be introduced into the school curriculum. The papers delivered during the program offer information on the historical background of the Negro from the pre-Civil War period to the present and examine the present status of the Negro and his past and present contributions to the development of America. A bibliography of books relevant to these subjects is included in the booklet. (EF)

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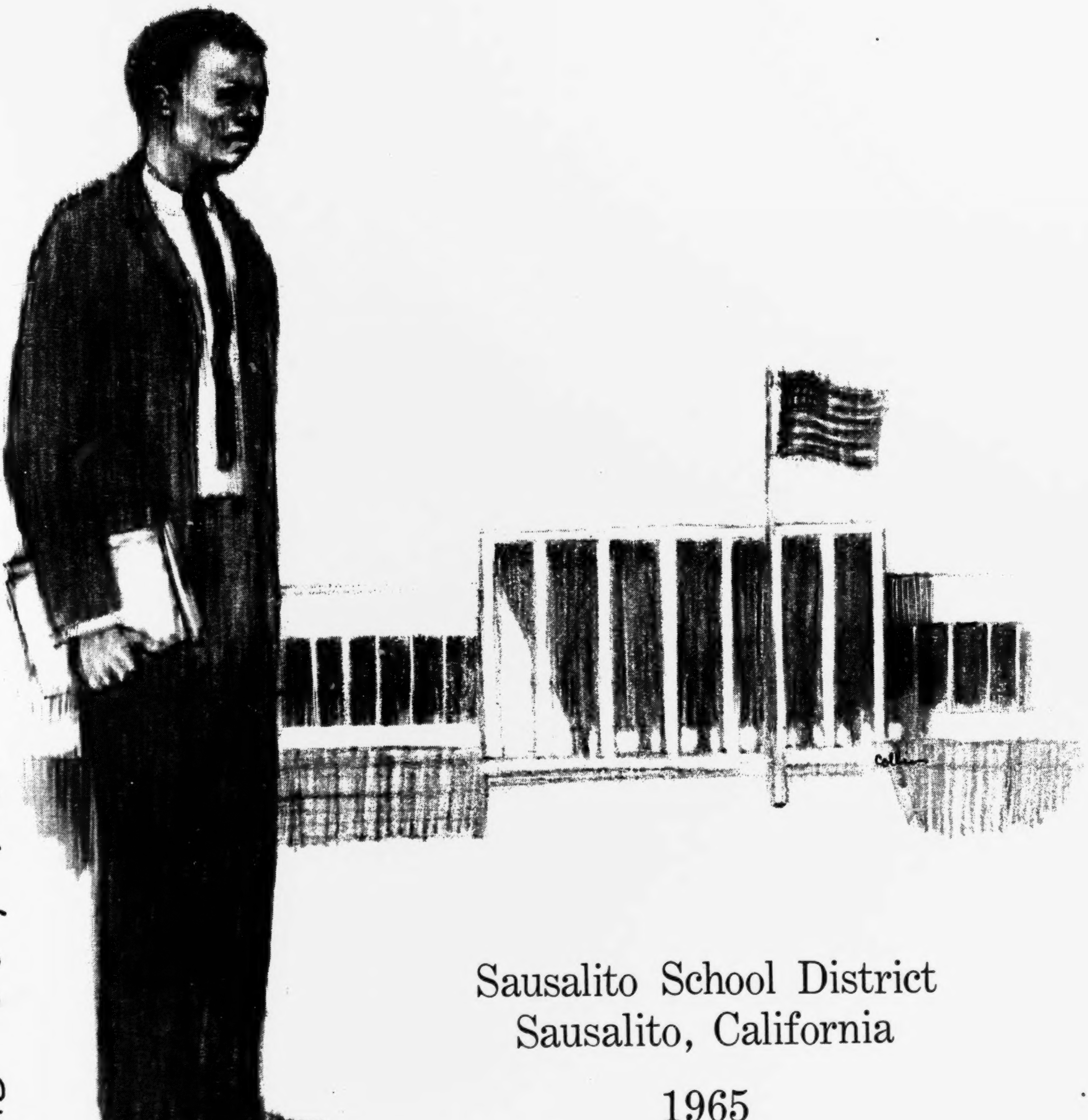
NEGRO HISTORY and CULTURE in a CHANGING CURRICULUM



UD 007 416

Sausalito School District
Sausalito, California

1965

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IN THE
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Sausalito School District
Sausalito, California

1964-1965

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FOREWORD

One of the three phases of the Compensatory Education Project in the Sausalito School District for the past two years has been to conduct an in-service training program for the District teachers. Our intent was to implement the Social Science curriculum in all grade levels with authentic information on Negro history, culture and literature.

In 1964, we recognized a Negro History Week in our schools with a program which informed parents, teachers and pupils of the place of the Negro in our society. It was the intent of the District to present information which could be implemented into the regular curriculum of all grades.

In 1965, an all-day teachers' institute was held entitled "Negro History and Culture in the Changing Curriculum." The Compensatory Education Steering Committee, in cooperation with the San Francisco Office of Bay Area Urban League, Inc., planned a program which provided further resource personnel and material and bibliographical material.

The program consisted of historical background of the Negro during the pre-Civil War days progressing to the present. In addition to historical concepts, information was offered on the status of the Negro in our current generation and their past and present contributions toward the development of America.

This booklet is a composite of the edited taped transcripts of the program of Teachers' Institute Day. It was published to further enhance the information of present and future teachers of the Sausalito School District. Others in the Bay Area who wish factual information on history and culture of the Negro people may also benefit. It is hoped that this document will further assist all who are working with Negro children in their classes and communities.

MARCUS F. DAVIS
District Superintendent

I. Introduction

Marcus F. Davis, Superintendent
Sausalito School District

At this time, I would like to ask Miss Joan Ohlson to say a few words to you. She is the Education and Youth Incentives Specialist with the Bay Area Urban League and will give you a few comments.

Joan E. Ohlson
Education and Youth Incentives Specialist
Bay Area Urban League

I'm glad to be here representing the Bay Area Urban League. It's particularly nice when someone comes to us and asks for information and resources. All too often we have to go around placing broad hints that perhaps it would be good to have a program like this -- or else presenting them with a program all set up. It's so much better when someone comes to us and says, "This is what we're thinking of. How can you help us?"

I don't know how much any of you know about the Urban League, and I'm not really going to take the time to tell you about it, except to say that we are located in San Francisco and Oakland and we work in the five Bay Area counties -- primarily in employment and education. We hope that today's session will be just the start of your involvement in Negro history and culture and perhaps the start of your involvement with the Bay Area Urban League.

We can help in the area of employment and youth motivation. If you're worried about lack of knowledge or perhaps would like to know what is going on in the employment field, we have people who are working in this area constantly. They can come to give career day programs or just come to talk to you and your class about what is happening in the job picture.

As far as education, we're very flexible. We try to do a variety of things. This institute is one example. We do have on hand, and I have with me today, some more bibliographies that were prepared by various people who have taught courses in Negro history and culture and by people who are involved in the Civil Rights movement.

There may be some programs coming up in the future that would interest you. This Sunday, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is celebrating its fifth anniversary over in San Francisco, and they're having quite a program -- a dramatic presentation, some folk singing, and so on. Bob Moses who heads the Voter Registration Program in Mississippi will be there. We have many more of this kind of program coming up in the future.

I hope that whether you are doing something just in your classroom, or perhaps throughout your school or throughout your district that you will come to us. Even if we can't answer your questions, perhaps we can put you in touch with the people who do know the answers, as we did for today's program.

I hope today's program is very successful and that a month or two from now we can come back and see things happening that are a result of what you will learn here today.

Alfred L. Anderson, Principal
Manzanita School

In setting up this institute for today, we felt it would be helpful to all of us if we could be given facts and basic information on the role that the Negro has played in American history and culture. We asked Miss Ohlson to get us speakers who could give us information on this subject. We are fortunate to have four such speakers today.

Our first speaker this morning will be Dr. Rudolph M. Lapp, who is a teacher of Social Sciences at the College of San Mateo. He received his M. A. and his Ph. D. at the University of California in Berkeley and has delivered a number of lectures on today's topic. He delivered a series of 15 lectures for the San Francisco Board of Education in 1963 and a series of three lectures for San Francisco State College on their television course on "The Negro in the American Cities." He is, at present, on sabbatical leave doing research on the Negro in California history from the Civil War to 1875.

Our second speaker will be Dr. Staten Webster, who also received his Ph. D. at Cal. He is now Supervisor of Teacher Education in the School of Education there. He has also been a teacher in the Richmond School District in the field of Social Sciences and is a member of the Richmond Human Relations Commission.

Our third speaker will be Mrs. Aileen Clarke Hernandez, who received her M. A. at Los Angeles State College. At the present time, Mrs. Hernandez is Assistant Chief of the Division of Fair Employment Practices for the State of California. Mrs. Hernandez has been a teacher of adult education at UCLA, a newspaper columnist and a research assistant at Howard University in Washington, D. C. She is a member of many community groups. In 1961, she was voted Woman of the Year by the Community Relations Conference of Southern California.

Our fourth speaker will be Mr. Harold Brooks, Field Secretary of the Negro American Labor Council. Mr. Brooks is now attending Lincoln University Law School in San Francisco. He has been Public Relations Director for the Pacific States for the Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks. He has worked in community development for the United Presbyterian Church, is a member of the San Francisco Negro Historical Society and has spent most of his mature years studying today's topic, Negro Culture.

II. Pre-Civil War Negro History

Rudolph M. Lapp, Ph. D.
Social Science Division
College of San Mateo
San Mateo, California

Being in Sausalito on this occasion is a bit of a break from my usual pattern. We usually come to Sausalito for a pastrami sandwich at the Copper Kettle.

But today my duty involves hurling a batch of facts at you. I'll try to throw a few your way, and we'll see what we can do with them. I also have some concepts that I'm interested in getting across. As a matter of fact, you could get the facts yourself; the literature is available. You could fill in the data and supply yourselves with this classroom ammunition. But I hope to give you some concept that explains why you are doing this and why you're approaching this problem at all.

You find a great many people in the teaching profession now who are going through the business of assembling data. They have become aware that there's something important taking place in education today, and central to the story is the Negro. So they're going around rustling up information and sort of readying themselves. But there's a slightly mechanical quality about it. I have detected a sort of subterranean feeling that asks: "What for? Why are they bothering with this? Why all this specialization? Why do we single out the Negro and do all this special work for him? We haven't had to do it for the Swedes, the Irish, the Welsh, the Jews, the French or the Italians. What's this special attention for?" There's a reason.

I can see the massive frustration that must hit some Negroes when they are asked, "Why should we single you out? Why should we give you special attention and special courses?" He probably almost chokes with frustration, and perhaps a little rage, and then has to go through the business of telling the person something of his own history that explains this special reason why the Negro is singled out from all other immigrants and given particular notice and study -- something we do not have to do for the rest because their history is quite different. It's not the Negro's fault that we're singling him out; it's the history of Western civilization that has singled him out. This is what I would like to draw for you, in broad strokes.

It's the story of African slavery in the Western world. It's the story of dollars and cents.

Columbus came here for noble reasons. He was going to make Christians out of the heathens, who he thought would be Orientals, and he was also going to make as quick a dollar as he could for the crowned heads of Spain. He sought the Eastern world and stumbled onto the Western in the course of trying to improve the economic life of the country he was serving. That was his major motivation.

African slavery came to the Western world (and it started in Latin America) simply because after he had stumbled onto this enormous chunk of real estate, it became apparent that perhaps here was something worth looking at to see whether there was money to be made. They discovered many possibilities. They found the silver of Mexico and Peru (they subsequently found other mineral sources), and they found the opportunity for millions to be made in sugar and tobacco.

To do this, they had to have the proper labor force. They tried to enslave the Indians. But the Indians in Western civilization, especially in Central and South America, were not very viable and useful tools for this money-making venture. There are a great variety of reasons. They didn't lend themselves to the institution of slavery because they didn't come from complex societies. Indian slavery was somewhat successful in the area around Mexico City and some areas in Peru where the Indians had highly complex societies. You may be interested to know that good slaves come from well-organized, highly complex societies. Poor slaves come out of the nomadic societies that have very few rules and regulations. That's one of the rules of sociology. So the Indians of North and South America did not lend themselves to slavery. The Africans, on the other hand, came from complex societies, and this is one of the reasons why they lent themselves to the institution of slavery better than the Indian did. You might chew on this fact for a moment when you say to yourself that the African had no civilization back in his own continent.

After it was discovered that the Indians made poor slaves, the colonists in Central and South America began to look elsewhere. Through the experiences of Portugal and Spain, they discovered slavery in Africa. This bit of business began to pick up and soon expanded to become one of the greatest businesses of the Western world -- African slavery. They began to bring great numbers of Africans to the West Indies and to Latin America. So the institution of slavery was already established in the Western world before the British North American colonies were founded -- which is, of course, our story.

The business men of England got together and decided they would try to make some money in the New World, just as the Spanish and Portuguese had. They came; they looked for gold; they didn't find it. They looked for silver; they didn't find it. Then somewhere along the line John Rolfe discovered tobacco. By this time tobacco was becoming quite popular in Europe. They hadn't read the Cancer Report at this point, although James I did say that it was a "filthy habit." His royal taste in this matter, however, did not prevail over the eager pound sign which was twinkling in the eyes of the London business men. They found that Rolfe had developed a kind of tobacco much superior to the Spanish tobacco which was the prime tobacco of Western Europe at this time. When Virginia tobacco became known as a much better type of cancer-producing commodity, the European markets clambered for it. And the London business men said, "This is our gold; this is our silver; this is the big money. We will give a monopoly to anybody in Virginia who plants tobacco, if they'll just plant like crazy. We finally have something which will beat Spanish tobacco in the competition between nations in Western Europe."

The colonization story in Virginia is not like the story in New England. The people who came over both to Virginia and Latin America didn't bring their families along to help with the work. It was a male migration and a male conquest entirely. So they had to fall back on the resources that were available, and the Virginia colonists began to look around for a labor force. They had heard of the African slave, and they were helped out in this respect by a Dutch ship that happened to come sailing up on that famous date which everybody knows -- 1619. The Dutch ship brought 20 Africans, some of whom had already been seasoned in the West Indies, and they sold them. This is the beginning of Negro slavery in North America. It parallels, of course, the growth of tobacco in Virginia. Had tobacco not transformed Virginia into a great farm factory, slavery would not have taken root. The economic demands, the money-making opportunities pressured the whole development. Plantations were increased, small farms were enveloped, big farms were merged, and a large labor force was needed.

You all know about the indentured servant. The indentured servant was white, he was English, Irish or Scottish, and he was protected by English law. The indentured servant was like a slave. If you read the language of that period, the terms servant and slave are often used interchangeably. This indentured servant, however, had a limited period of service in bondage -- it could be anything from three to seven years. After that, he knew he was free. He could become a farmer -- and perhaps one day even a planter aristocrat. That was the totem pole of achievement in Colonial Virginia -- get land, raise tobacco, get servants or slaves, and rise in the local hierarchy.

As time went on, as the tobacco rage spread, it became clear that it would be desirable to have a more stable labor force than this group that changed every three to seven years. The Africans who had arrived in 1619 became virtually indentured servants. Of this group, most of them became free. And for quite a few generations from 1619 on, Africans who were brought here gained their freedom as indentured servants. The legal sharpies discovered, however, something that served the needs of the planter aristocracy and was a great economic convenience: An African is not an Englishman, therefore he is not protected by English law. At that time there was no Nigerian, Liberian or Ethiopian Consulate in the New World to protect their own nationals. Africans were completely without legal defense and had no opportunity to fight back. County by county in Virginia and county by county in Maryland they decided to extend the indenturement of the African -- to 10 years, to 15 years -- until by the end of the 17th century, created bit by bit and piece by piece, the institution of slavery had become an established fact in the traditional colonies.

I should take a minute or two to say something about the life of the Negro as a slave before the American Revolution. As I indicated, there were those who gained their freedom. There was a free-Negro class in the American colonies even before the Revolutionary War. But life on the plantations was not a bowl of cherries. The history of running away was constant, some of it achieving a sort of heroic stature. Runaways established their own colonies in the Everglades. Before North Carolina was highly cultivated, runaways from Virginia fled to the border between the two states, which also was a great swamp, and hid out there. Sometimes indentured servants joined them. Sometimes they were with Indians.

As far as education is concerned, the story of education in the South during the Colonial period in American history is one of the most dismal chapters in our textbooks. Education for the poor -- white or Negro -- was virtually nonexistent. The churches did bring in a little schooling, but by and large the Negroes and the poor whites had little opportunity for learning. They didn't have the tradition of it as they did, say, in New England. It wasn't as important to them to learn to read the Bible as it was to New Englanders. You have there a picture of indifference.

I don't want to leave the subject of education without asking you to take a moment to look into the rather remarkable story of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Foreign Parts. This was a missionary arm of the Anglican Church, the Church of England, and they worked to bring the heathen to Christianity. They found that one of the important areas they might explore was the Negro in the New World. A school for slaves actually existed for 20 years in Charleston, from 1740 to 1760. It is remarkable not only that it lasted 20 years but that it was achieved in the face of tremendous opposition from the planters, who didn't think that letting their slaves go for a period of education was very profitable when they could use them on the plantation. The Society purchased two slaves, with what we would call "high I.Q.," and trained them to be teachers. They had, as well, a number of white teachers.

The thing that is fascinating to me is that they founded their school on the concept that the Negro was teachable. There was no notion of basic inferiority. Their students were slaves, but slaves were characteristic of the 18th century in other places as well. The notions that he was incapable of learning, that he was incapable of religion, that he had no soul, that he had inferior capacities were not among the reasons for slavery at that time. In the 19th century there was an intellectual development under which we still suffer today and which runs in contrast to this -- the concept of national inferiority. How many times have you heard: "Well, wasn't the Negro picked for this kind of work because he can stand the heat better?" There's a kind of truth to it, and that is this: A great number of Africans brought to the southern colonies had had a seasoning period in the West Indies. This period killed off all those who couldn't take the climate or the hard work. Naturally by the time they got to Virginia and South Carolina they were those who could survive. Thus it appeared to the British North American colonies on the mainland that the Negroes had a natural capacity for heat and heavy labor.

In the course of some doctoral dissertation work I did on poor whites in the Old South, I encountered some footnotes from documents of the 17th and 18th centuries. One of them I remember, very vividly: "I wish the ships coming in from London would bring more Irishmen. They make better slaves than the Negroes." I'd like to see that statement more popularly placed in textbooks. On the other hand, I don't know how many people would like to have this kind of information get around! As a matter of fact, there was a period when the Negro was not particularly superior to anybody else as far as plantation labor was concerned. It's just that he was easier to hold for a longer period of time. And eventually, through the process of selection, those who could stand the climate survived; those who couldn't died. The mortality rate of slavery was perpetual. Don't get the idea that this was so natural, so comfortable to the Negro's way of life.

We come now to the period of the American Revolution. In the South by this time there is a full-fledged, fully matured, legal system of slavery. There are some contracts. In South Carolina and Georgia the plantations were really mass factories -- much bigger than those in Virginia. There the planter class was not so sophisticated, not as seasoned, not as mellowed as the planter class in Virginia, which made for some differences in slavery. In Virginia you have a gentler, more sympathetic system -- if there is a sympathetic system of slavery. In South Carolina and Georgia you have a harsher, crueler system. Stories of brutality and running away are greater in those areas. There is less in Virginia. Maybe this explains something in literature and song. You never hear anybody singing, "Carry Me Back to South Carolina." And there is a reason for singing, "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny." The Washingtons, the Madisons, the Jeffersons, the Monroes, the Masons, the Randolphs -- all were men of an older aristocracy than those of South Carolina and Georgia and, as a result, were prone to view more objectively the system they had come to live with, the system of slavery. This is why by the time of the American Revolution, the greatest antislavery expressions among slave owners were to be found in Virginia and Maryland. There was not much sentiment coming out of South Carolina and Georgia.

Perhaps we should be a little more realistic here. There is an added reason for the rise of antislavery attitudes among slave owners in Virginia and for its muffled voice in South Carolina and Georgia. Economics plays its part in the picture. Tobacco had been exhausting the soil of Virginia for nearly 150 years by the time of the American Revolution. Tobacco is a great miner of soils. As a result, there wasn't as much money to be made in slavery in Virginia by the time 1776 rolled around, whereas there was still a lot of money to be made in South Carolina and Georgia from slavery in rice, cotton, indigo and sugar. The dollar sign goes a great way to explain why there's a greater tenacity for the institution in those states (what is called the Carolina Society) and a loosening of the ties in Virginia. By the time of the American Revolution you find the seed bed ready for developing the antislavery movement in Virginia and Maryland.

The Revolution, of course, brought in other things -- the general concept of the natural rights of man, as opposed to the concept of the divine right of kings; the concept of liberty and freedom. The idea of slavery certainly didn't sit right with the language of the American Revolution! Patrick Henry asked himself in his correspondence: "How can I have slaves and still make the kind of speeches I'm making?" Jefferson expressed the same views, and many other leaders of the Virginia Revolution held this position. Various debates took place in writing the Declaration of Independence. You can read Carl Becker on that. He did such a beautiful job of presenting the various drafts of the Declaration, showing one that made a strong statement against slavery, which the South Carolina and Georgia people asked Jefferson to take out. The final draft is a strike at slavery, although it proclaims antislavery sentiments.

The American Revolution, with all its slogans and the very momentum of its action, had an effect on the institution of slavery. Abolition societies began to spring up all over the North. (I've said practically nothing about slavery in the North. It was there, but nowhere near as strongly rooted in their economic life as it was in the South.) Abolition societies emerged like mushrooms all over the North. States one by one, as they declared for their independence, even before the unified Declaration of Independence was written, made statements against slavery and provided for its ending. There was a general mood even in the Deep South, in Georgia and South Carolina, that slavery was kind of a bad thing and that one day it had to go. How? Well, they didn't quite know. Many states were passing laws to provide for its ending, making it easier to free slaves, making it easier to arrange so that the Negro could become free. There wasn't much of this taking place in Georgia and South Carolina. But there was in Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey and all the way north.

By the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, the vast majority of Negroes in the North were free. They were on their way to freedom in the middle states, and they were viewed as a people to get their freedom ultimately in the Deep South -- not the Gulf States, but the Deep South. This was the way Americans viewed the institution. The Northwest Territory was so proscribed that slavery could never take place there, indicating the direction in which Americans felt the nation was going. They didn't think anything in the way of federal action was necessary, although federally they did provide for the end of the slave trade. That traffic was ended -- at least the legal side of it. So you see that Americans at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century had the impression that slavery was going to disappear by natural process. Well, as you know, it didn't.

The beginning of the 19th century is marked with some other developments which should be noted before we proceed into the crucial developments of that century which we still feel the impact of today. Great numbers of Negroes gained their freedom and sort of dropped from sight, as far as our texts are concerned. We know here and there from a census study that they're there, but you generally are unaware of the fact that there's anything going on. There's a statistic, a knowledge, a general awareness that there were free Negroes, largely in the cities, and some on the farms. But what were they doing? You'd probably say, "Nothing." Or at best, "I really don't know." What they were doing is something that should become a part of our general knowledge. It does a great deal to blast certain myths about the passive character of the Negro, his lack of interest or lack of energy on his own behalf. The story, from the turn of the century up to the time of the Civil War, is one of protests, of organizing, of heartbreaking energy spent in the direction of improving the condition of the free Negro. First of all they began to develop their own independent organizations. The church is the first thing that becomes apparent as a central part of the free Negro's life after the American Revolution. Two men stand out as the strong figures in this story. One was Richard Allen. Another was a Negro named Prince Hall. Prince Hall, incidentally, was one of five thousand Negroes who fought in Washington's armies for freedom. I wonder how long I could have gone on without mentioning that and not have been called on it by somebody. Five thousand Negroes fought in the Revolutionary War. They were nearly all northern New England free Negroes -- many of them slaves who got their freedom by joining the various companies and regiments that were formed, particularly in Connecticut and Massachusetts. In those two states they had their own regiments. Many of the Southern Negroes who were slaves went to the British forces. Lord Dunmore and other leaders of the British during the Revolution issued calls to the plantation slaves saying, "Leave your masters, come to the British lines and you will get your freedom." Thousands fled to the British. It got to be quite a propaganda race. Which one was going to issue the most appealing call -- George Washington's Pentagon or the British Pentagon? This interesting battle of appeals took place from about 1773 to 1776. Washington at first had a General Staff that didn't want Negroes in the armed forces. The Negro got into the Revolution and became part of the armed forces as the result of competition with the British.

That story is very instructive and shows why the Negro can be quite bitter about American history. He can say, "Every time I've gotten anything, it's not because of any high moral gesture on the part of the white American. It's always because he's been pressured by somebody else." This, of course, is something that I hope can be lived down eventually. But the facts are there. Every time the Negro has received any kind of improvement through federal law or through executive action or in the military services, it is because the ruling white group at that time was trying to win their allegiance in the course of a struggle with somebody else.

To digress even further, many of you may have heard the story of Joe Louis on the golf course down in Los Angeles some time in 1947 or '48. When he went to play, he was asked to leave the links. Sumner Welles and Dean Acheson were at that moment in the middle of the most delicate negotiations with some African nation. And across the land appeared the newspaper banner: "Joe Louis, Negro, Denied Right to Links." It made us look pretty you-know-what. The wires burned between the golf club and the State Department, and the next day Joe Louis was playing golf on their course.

Now had we not been involved in these negotiations, had the officials of the State Department merely have been interested in a program to wipe out segregation in our recreation areas, I don't know. The pattern is the same as what happened during the American Revolution. It's a tough story.

But this is supposed to be the story of Richard Allen, who went to church one day with Prince Hall and was told, as usual, to sit in the back. (This was the Episcopal Church.) So finally a group of Negroes said, "We've had enough of this." Out they went, and they formed the A. M. E. churches, the African Methodist Episcopal, designed as a social uplift organization. This was the beginning of independent religious institutions for the Negro. The Negroes developed their own Baptist churches, too, but not under quite the same circumstances. The Baptists had a very loose internal structure and anybody could organize a Baptist church. So the Negroes simply organized their own separate churches, and these grew and were central to the Negro's life throughout the North.

The Negroes also organized a Negro Masons and a Negro Odd Fellows at this time. Their charters came not from the

American organizations but from the British, and they were not a part of the white American structure.

Another organization that began to grow was called the Negro Convention Movement, and I'll come back to that rather than talk about it right now. It's central to the story of the Negro protest movement before the American Civil War.

Let's come back now to the South at the beginning of the 19th century, I feel like it's like grade school to mention Eli Whitney and the cotton gin. Everybody knows about that cotton-pickin' cotton gin, but perhaps we should take a second look at it. See it in a more dynamic sense in its relation to American history. Appreciate the irony involved.

When Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, he released the labors of a slave woman picking the seed out of short staple cotton. Long staple cotton, which grew in only limited areas in the South, had only a few seeds, and it was possible to use that cotton very commercially. It was marketable, saleable and cleanable because it had few seeds. It was a very fine grade of cotton. There was a great demand for it in Western Europe, but it couldn't be grown in many areas other than the Sea Islands off Georgia and South Carolina. The short staple cotton, on the other hand, was difficult to make commercial because it was just full of seeds. And Eli Whitney thought, "I can strike a blow against slavery if I can invent a machine that will make it unnecessary for this slave woman to pick the seeds out of this cotton." He invented a machine which did clean this short staple cotton very quickly.

There is one thing that Eli Whitney should have done had he really wanted to strike a blow against slavery. While he was inventing the cotton gin, he should have invented a cotton planter as well, and a cotton harvester, and all the other machines needed in the operation. Because short staple cotton was not a delicate plant. It could grow almost anywhere in the South -- in the uplands, in the lowlands, in the piney woods, in the colder regions. The South soon realized that there were millions and millions of acres of land that could be used to grow this plant. So Eli didn't strike the blow against slavery that he thought he was going to by simply inventing a cotton cleaner.

A number of other circumstances entered the picture. In order for cotton to become commercial, there had to be a market. Several factors all came together within the years of about 1790 to 1815 to make cotton one of the biggest money-makers in the economic history of the Western world.

A couple of Englishmen, almost at the same time, invented a machine to make raw cotton into thread many times faster than before. Still another Englishman invented a machine that would make thread into cloth many times faster. So between the gin and the looms, the whole process of transforming cotton from plant to apparel was accelerated tremendously.

At the same time Europe began to develop cotton as a fashion. It became the rage for articles of clothing. The southern farmers and planters soon discovered the possibilities for gold in the cotton of the south. They heard from their advisers in London and Belgium and France: "Cotton is in demand. Raise it like crazy!" As a result, cotton plantations spread from the Carolinas to Georgia, down below the Appalachian foothills and swept west really like wildfire.

Remember I said to you a bit ago that slavery was viewed as an institution that was about to fade out; it was going to be phased out; it was viewed as something well rid of. Ideas about what part the Negro would play in American life and how he would stand in the competition were things that men were hazy on. Even men like Jefferson were hazy on it. They kicked around various ideas, not really having what you'd call a planned policy, hoping that in God's way He would work things out sensibly. There were thoughts of colonization both within the American continent and outside the American continent. The facts were, the Negro stayed primarily on American soil and in the South.

Along came cotton. Slavery was more profitable than ever before. Time went by. We go from 1800 to 1810 to 1820. Cotton spread rapidly during those years --

those were the great years for cotton. By 1860 you have what was called the Cotton Kingdom in the South.

As this economic development was taking place, Western Europe was getting rid of its own slaves in the West Indian colonies and parts of Latin America. As slavery grew in disrepute and steps were taken by the Western European countries to get rid of it, our country was not doing anything about it. In fact, we were getting very uneasy over the question. One of the most jittery moments was the Missouri fight in 1820, sometimes called the Missouri Compromise, though I don't know why; nothing was compromised. The basic issues that were raised in the Missouri debates had to do not with whether Missouri would come in to the nation but whether Missouri would come in as a slave state. And Missouri kept slavery. The constitution made clear that the institution of slavery wouldn't be threatened.

Look at the picture. Here is Western Europe, not only dismantling slavery but presenting religious, intellectual and scientific arguments against it. And here's America, beginning to make more and more money out of it, becoming more and more uneasy under the criticism and the arguments. But it was saying nothing. While money was being made, there was a silence in America over the question of the various merits of the institution of slavery.

Something was due to happen, and a rather unusual event provided for the intellectual needs of the new slave-owning classes.

The Virginia legislature convened at regular session on December 5, 1831. A few days later a select committee was appointed in the House of Delegates to consider questions relating to slaves and free Negroes, and within the first two or three days the whole character of the meeting was transformed into a debate over the merits of the institution of slavery. On January 11, 1832, for nearly two weeks there raged a remarkable debate, with more criticism of the institution of slavery presented in any session of southerners than had ever been presented before -- or had ever been put together by northerners! The old Jeffersonians came out. Men like Thomas Jefferson's nephew were there. Remnants of the Jeffersonian planter aristocracy came to the conference to criticize slavery. Men from West Virginia came and criticized slavery, and Quakers from some of the northern counties of Virginia. Nobody got up to defend slavery.

At any given moment, (many historians have analyzed this) if they had gotten together, there could have been a majority vote against slavery. But they couldn't get together on what step to take first. All that the proslavery men of Virginia had to do was simply to sit on their hands, through countless amendments, countless points of order -- and at the end of the session nothing conclusive had been accomplished. What might have been a majority, what might have been a real roll-back on the institution of slavery never took place, and a historic moment was lost.

In 1832 they were supposed to meet again, but other events involving Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun and the protective tariff controversy sort of made people forget the slavery issue. However -- there was a man sitting in the galleries of the Virginia legislature at this time listening to the proceedings. His name was Professor Thomas R. Dew, and he was increasingly incensed as he listened to the attacks on slavery, with nobody getting up to defend it. He went back to his classes after the session was over and said, "Something has to be done to provide southerners with a defense of the institution of slavery." There emerged from his pen what came to be known as the "Proslavery Argument." This was later added to by John C. Calhoun and a number of other southerners who were theoreticians for the defense of slavery. Southerners were now saying that this was what they had needed all the time. "We're through being defensive about this institution of slavery," they said. "We're no longer taking your guff about this thing. We've got a good thing here. It's not an evil, as you've been saying all this time. It's good. Not because we're making money. No. It's because it is ordained by God. It says so in the scriptures." And they interpreted whatever they had of knowledge at that time -- everything in history, sociology, science -- to show that slavery was a positive good. "The Negro," they said, "belongs in slavery because it's his most natural condition." And part of the reasoning stated "because he is naturally inferior."

Let me get that point across to you as emphatically as I can. One of the things that the slavery institutions of previous history did not emphasize was natural inferiority. In fact, slavery institutions of the past sometimes existed because the conquered ones were naturally superior. It would be just as though the Marin school districts were short of English teachers while the Contra Costa schools had quite a few good ones. You might organize a raiding party -- you'd go over to Contra Costa County and enslave half a dozen English teachers because you needed their skills. Slavery often had those characteristics. The Jews were put into slavery in Babylonia because of skills they had. African tribes would frequently go out and raid other African tribes because of skills the others had. (Sometimes they were just short of women -- but that's a skill of sorts!) It was basic need, not any concept of natural inferiority that brought about the slavery.

But the intellectual lawyers of the South came up with this new gimmick, which was a precious contribution to the concept of slavery, and that is that the Negroes were naturally inferior and that's why they belonged in slavery. This particular argument, introduced by the ideologists of the South, became their cornerstone -- an intellectual jewel for the Proslavery Argument. Unfortunately it became a part of the American atmosphere that drenched it and remained in it long after the Civil War and into the 20th century. That particular contribution of Thomas R. Dew and the others is a handicap we've been laboring under for some time. And the Negro has been laboring under it, because he heard it too, all the time. When you hear a story repeated often enough, you begin to wonder.

In the course of the research I've been doing about the Negro in California during the period just mentioned, I picked out a fascinating citation. In the city of Sacramento, after the Civil War, they were fighting to integrate the schools. In fact, there was a campaign by the Negro community in California all through the 1870s to integrate the schools. This was their hope at that time. A white school teacher in Sacramento favored integration. (She must have had a grandaddy who was an abolitionist.) At any rate, she was fighting for the Negro's right to be a part of the general school system. She wrote a letter to the Sacramento newspaper saying, "These children hear so often that they're inferior that they begin to wonder if it isn't true." This is the sickness that the Proslavery Argument created at this time to serve the needs of the new moneyed group. Every economic group needs its intellectual spokesman, and the new cotton masters of the South had found it in the Proslavery Argument. This became part of their creed.

By this time, of course, the lines were sharpening. Some people say that the abolitionists of the North were the ones who provoked the southerners into taking such sharp positions. Another myth! The Nat Turner Rebellion was in 1831. The Virginia Slave Debates were late in 1831 and early 1832. The great argument that Thomas R. Dew worked up to defend slavery was not an answer to abolitionists from Boston but was an answer to southerners in Virginia who were criticizing slavery. The American Antislavery Society was not organized until 1834. The chronology alone should tell you that the major reason for development of the Proslavery Argument in the South was to give confidence to southerners who were doubting whether or not slavery really was morally justified.

The Negro Convention Movement, which I mentioned earlier, began in the late 1820s and was adopted in a number of states. All the eastern states had colored conventions. There was even a colored convention movement here in California in the 1850s, right after the Gold Rush. Many of the leaders in the California Negro Convention Movement had come here from back East and were experienced leaders. The major campaign of the colored conventions at this time involved two things:

1. Public schools. Later, after getting publicly financed schools, they fought for integrated schools, but they didn't make that the central issue at first.
2. The right of testimony.

The right of testimony became one of the crucial issues for Negroes who were accumulating property in the North. Some Negroes became quite affluent -- read the story of the Fortens of Philadelphia, sailmakers, who for several generations made major contributions to Negro leadership. There were many Negro families in New York who were very comfortable. These people had no rights to defend themselves in courts of law, if it was a case of Negro testimony against white testimony. This meant that white criminals could inflict injustices on Negroes and, if there were no white witnesses, the Negro had no recourse to defense through the law. As more and more northern Negroes before the Civil War became propertied persons, the right of testimony became essential. It became essential even if they weren't propertied persons -- just to defend life and limb. As state after state granted them the right of testimony, the activity of the Negro conventions shifted to education.

As the Civil War developed, as hostilities became imminent as the result of Fort Sumter, one of the remarkable things was the number of Negro conventions which organized their own military companies and proceeded to the state authorities to offer to fight for the Union. This is an interesting and somewhat pathetic story. All across the nation, from San Francisco to New York, Negro companies immediately sprang into existence, ready to go and fight. And all of them were told, "No, we're not taking Negroes in the troops. We're going to have to ask you to disband." In some places, with great reluctance, Union troops had to go into Negro drill areas and take their guns away from them. It was not until 1863, after the Emancipation Proclamation, that the Negro was welcomed to fight with the armies of the North -- to the extent that 186,000 went into the Union forces.

Now, if you have questions please pass them up to the front and I'll be glad to answer them if I can.

Question and Answer Period

Question:

Is it not true that Negroes came over on the ships with Columbus? At this time were they not used as slaves?

Dr. Lapp:

You know the answer to that. They did come over with Columbus. One of them had a most responsible position on one of the three ships. I can't remember the exact capacity he served in, and I should because I heard it just the other day on a record that the Pepsi Cola Company has put out. On that record, the voices speak not only of the men who came with Columbus but of the Negro men who came with a great number of the various expeditionary and colonizing ventures of the French, the Spanish, and the Portuguese. I believe I have heard that there was one Negro on Henry Hudson's ship. But the Negroes were here before the Mayflower.

Question:

Can you explain briefly why members of a complex society lend themselves more readily to slavery than nomadic societies?

Dr. Lapp:

Well, you would make great slaves! I'm not sure you aren't! You're accustomed to stop and go lights; you're accustomed to daily morning bulletins -- you're accustomed to rules and regulations and the requirements of organized life. There are a great number of things you can and cannot do. In the complex society you have all of those classifications within the society. A person who lives as a nomad finds it difficult to get acculturated into the rules-and-regulations kind of life, and they can't survive it.

Question:

Did the U. S. government end the slave trade, or did the English?

Dr. Lapp:

Slave trade to North America was ended in 1808 by the U. S. government as a result of the president's bringing the subject before Congress. The president at that time was a man who had wanted 20 years earlier to end the slave trade and had been told to compromise. By historic accident this man was president 20 years later. His name was Thomas Jefferson. He brought it up before Congress, showing, I believe, that executive initiative is important in the course of social change.

Question:

Is the only white slave an indentured servant, and what of Negro masters in the pre-Revolutionary period?

Dr. Lapp:

There were Negro slave-owners before the Revolution, and there were Negroes before the Civil War who owned their own slaves. There is the case, for example, of the famous Natchez barber. He was a slave who had purchased his freedom and then owned about ten slave barbers. He really had a chain-store system going in Mississippi.

III. Negro History -- 1865 to the Present

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I should like to compliment Dr. Lapp for a very interesting and stimulating presentation.

I will briefly cover the history of Negroes in American life from approximately 1863 to 1960. I hope, at the end of my comments, to give you my personal opinions as an educator about some approaches to introducing the history of Negroes in this country into the curriculum, as well as that of various other groups.

I read an interesting article in The Scientific American the other day. The author made a point of contending that the American Negro (or Negro American, whichever you prefer) is perhaps the newest of all human groups. He contended that 75 per cent of American Negroes are the product of fusion of their own genes with those not only of Caucasians but of Indians as well, and that perhaps only 25 per cent of Negroes maintain a comparatively unaltered genetic heritage.

Another factor which I think we should consider -- and I hope the historians in the audience will check me on this -- is that perhaps in the whole history of mankind no other human group of such size has been kept in slavery for so long a period of time as were the Negroes in this country. I think this has great implications for what happened to our Negroes in the years following the Civil War and also great implications for the present status of the Negro in American life.

Our first speaker took us up to the Emancipation Proclamation. This posed a tremendous problem for the people of this country. As you know, the war was going on when Lincoln made the decision to free the slaves, and much of the energies of the country were being devoted to the termination of this conflict. However, the war did set the stage for a rather chaotic situation. Aware of the fact that something would have to be done about the freed slaves after the war, the government began to set up study committees during the latter stages of the war to try to plan solutions to the problems. All kinds of schemes were suggested, as has been intimated earlier -- colonization in other parts of the Americas, colonies in Africa or the West Indies, or even in Texas where all the free Negroes could go.

In 1864 the government set aside $10,692 -- a sizable sum for these times -- to study the proposals of what to do with the Negroes once the war was over. After a debate, or at least a period of confrontation and discussion, lasting about two years, the government decided to try what was known as the Freedman's Bureau, which was an organization established to help freed Negroes once the war was over. This organization was established in 1865 and lasted until about 1872. At the time of its institution there were some 4,100,000 Negroes who had to be helped in adjusting to a completely different way of life. The problem was one of great magnitude. Here were individuals with no sophistication, no experience with a labor-market economy, individuals in large numbers who could not read or write. They were individuals who had to be brought almost overnight from a feudalistic situation to life in modern times, and this was no small task. Also, as is the case in

American life today, we had no precedent to follow. Consequently, many of the efforts to solve these problems involved a lot of fumbling and mistakes.

The Freedman's Bureau had an overwhelming task, as you can see simply by the numbers of individuals involved at this time. To its credit, however, it did accomplish a number of things. First of all, it established 2,600 day and night schools in an attempt to educate the free Negroes. By 1872 it had trained or participated in the training of some 3,000 teachers. It had begun secondary schools, but, surprisingly, the curriculum of such schools reflected the classical orientation which still persisted in this country from the time of the Latin grammar school, with little emphasis upon vocational training. Such education was to come later through the efforts of philanthropic organizations and church groups. It also gave aid to hospitals and established asylums, aid to orphans, and so forth. It actually transported some 30,000 Negroes during this time to other areas and participated in the resettlement of about 4,000 families.

There had been a Congressional mandate, of which I am sure most of you are aware, which supposedly was to give to the ex-slave 40 acres and a mule. This was never really carried out. It would have been an insurmountable task to provide this much land for so many people. In the first place, the Freedman's Bureau had under its control at this time only about 800,000 acres. The efforts of this bureau to help Negroes came to an end in 1872 when the Amnesty Act was passed and southerners were allowed once again to participate in the political life of the South. Once this happened, the fate of the

Freedman's Bureau was sealed.

In campaigning for the election of 1876, candidates began to vie for southern support, the promise being that if a particular candidate were elected he would give the South free rein in solving the problems of ex-slaves. The year 1876 thus marks the end of federal intervention on behalf of the Negro in the southern states.

It also sets the stage for the period of reconstruction, which began in 1865. I will not review the historical aspects of this. You know there were two camps in the country: the radical Republicans who felt the South should be punished, and those who were with Lincoln in feeling that the South should be welcomed back into the family as a son or brother who had gone astray. The radical Republicans won out, and this led to a military occupation of the South. It was bitterly resented, and in a sense this bad feeling contributed to the serious problems which the Negroes faced in the South -- and still face today.

The Negro's role in the period of reconstruction is poorly presented in most textbooks. In most history books I think you will find rare mention of the fact that Negroes did play a significant part. At the local levels it is true that some of the Negroes, perhaps without education or political sophistication, did participate in activities which were not the most ideal or desired. They were used by people. However, there were a number of Negroes during this period of time who served with great dignity in the Congress and Senate of the United States and who have been given a great deal of praise by historians for their integrity.

During the years immediately after the Civil War and in the early state governments in the South, Negroes held such high positions as lieutenant governor, speakers of the house in some assemblies and superintendent of public instruction in Florida. Between 1869 and 1901, the southern states sent to the United States Congress two Negro senators and 20 Negro members of the House of Representatives. Believe it or not, the state which sent the greatest number to the House of Representatives was South Carolina. Mississippi sent one of the senators -- the senator who replaced Jefferson Davis.

The whites in the South did not take lightly this sudden emancipation of Negroes and their rise into political prominence. They began to organize certain _sub rosa_ activities designed to combat the influence of northerners and to take away the rights of Negroes. We find such organizations as the'76 Association, The Council of Safety, The White Brotherhood, The Pale Faces, The Knights of the White Camellia and The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan coming into existence -- all terroristic organizations designed to keep the Negro "in his place." This was a period of great conflict and great violence. Many Negroes wandered about the country with no specific place to go. Many of them ended up signing contracts back into situations which were tantamount to being enslaved again. Some became sharecroppers under a horrible system.

During this time, after the government reneged on its interest in the Negro, the burden was taken up pretty much by the churches and philanthropic organizations Such groups as the Peabody Fund, the Julius Rosenwal Fund, and the John F. Slater Fund, all came into the South and participated in establishing schools and other programs designed to help Negroes. So this was a period of time during which the federal government abdicated its responsibility. The local governments had little or no interest in seeing the Negro through this crucial period. If anything, the emphasis in the South was on taking away his suffrage and reducing him back to a position of slavery.

Also going on in the South at this time was a power struggle. Originally most of the white population opposed giving the Negro any advantages. Former plantation owners, the former big merchants and so on, as well as the poor white farmers all opposed the Negro. But small farms began to develop in the South, and toward the end of the century the Grange and the Populist Movement came into existence. So you begin to find a schism developing between the monied merchant, the aristocratic class of the South and the poor whites. Naturally the Negroes, who were then free and on their own, engaged primarily in agriculture. And while they were not allowed to participate in organizations like the Grange, they were encouraged to establish their own organizations, which did cooperate with the white groups. Consequently, what was happening was that the white farmers who had been caught up in the Populist Movement began to oppose the merchants and the newly arriving industrialists in the South as well as the old families. Consequently, the election of 1890 or '92 found the South divided into two camps -- the small farmers, the poor whites, versus the aristocratic groups. To a certain extent the Negroes were left to themselves. All during this time the "black codes" and other kinds of intimidation were used to keep the Negroes away from the polls.

After the election, the Populist Movement, the agrarian reforms and so forth tended to die down. Once this happened, the Negroes once again found themselves being opposed by both camps of the white community. The aristocratic whites consistently used the Negroes as a weapon against the poor whites, telling them they were threats to their jobs, their security, and so on. Lillian Smith talks about this in her book. At any rate, by 1900 the full conspiracy was reinstituted, with all whites in the South opposing the Negro.

These were violent years in the history of Negroes in this country. Between 1900 and 1902, for example, 214 Negroes were lynched. In the total history of this country, over 6,000 lynchings have taken place. According to some historians, not one person has served one day in jail for a single one of these incidents. This is a very sad testimony to the law in certain parts of our country.

Despite the fact that the Negro is looked upon by many white people as being a backward group of individuals who have made minimal contributions to American life, by 1900 the Negro in this country had made tremendous strides. I would think (and I do not say this ethnocentrically) that the contributions or at least the advancement in cultural areas which the American Negro made during our history even up to 1900 are perhaps far more noticeable and measurable than those of any other minority colored group which has come to this country -- I'm talking about books, artistic contributions, and so on, up to this point. And I'm not talking about Anglo-Saxon derivatives but other identifiable ethnic minority groups which are not members of the western European civilization.

By the year 1900, even though four million Negroes had been slaves in 1863, there was a total, according to one historian, of 2,000 Negro college graduates in this country. At that time there were 700 Negroes enrolled in institutions of higher learning.

During the latter 1800s, a number of other significant things took place. First of all, there was the rise of organized labor as we know it. In many cases, organized labor at this time was very unsympathetic with the cause of the Negro, although some unions deviated from this stance. Generally the immigrant white worker as well as the indigenous white worker looked upon the Negro as a threat to his job security, and efforts were made to keep him out of the labor movement. This was another thing that impeded the economic progress of Negroes as a group. In certain areas Negroes were forbidden to engage in certain types of economic activity. These were reserved exclusively for white practitioners or tradesmen.

One of the most significant figures in the history of Negroes in American life was Booker T. Washington, who himself was a slave. Booker T. Washington, after graduating from college, went into Alabama and participated in establishing perhaps the best-known Negro institution of higher learning in this country, Tuskegee Institute. It was Booker T. Washington's ideas and his philosophy which guided much of the activity of the Negroes in this country during the latter part of the 1800s and the early 1900s. And his particular philosophy was that the Negro was in no position at that time to demand equality and equal rights, that he could best advance in American society by proving himself to be law-abiding, respectful, clean, neat -- all of those things which the white society supposedly expected of him. He also stressed the idea that Negro education should involve being concerned with the use of one's hands, the learning of some vocational trade or skill, and that equality would ultimately come as the economic position of the Negro rose within American life.

Booker T. Washington was not interested in politics per se, even though he did make several speeches in the North on this topic and did get into some trouble. He even got into trouble for being invited to the White House to have dinner with Teddy Roosevelt, which was a horrible thing; all the southern press was indignant about this. They felt he was participating in writing southern policy in the White House. They also thought an ex-slave had no right to be having dinner with the President of the United States. This goes back to the point we made earlier about the theory of inferiority which was originated in the 1830s and which today underlies much of the resistance to social change which would involve giving greater opportunities to Negroes and other minorities. Well, Booker T. Washington took this kind of position, his basic idea being that we cannot compete and the best thing for us to do is to stay to ourselves, improve ourselves and ultimately, perhaps, we would be accepted.

There were other Negroes in the country who disagreed with him on this, the most famous being W. E. B. DuBois, who died in

Africa a few days before President Kennedy was assassinated. DuBois was always known as a person who took rather radical positions. Despite all this and the fact that he was looked upon as an evil man, somewhat similar to Mao Tse-tung, he was also a very intellectually talented person. He wrote novels, poetry and essays. His Souls of the Black Folk, which was published around the turn of the century, records some of his teaching experiences in the South and the oppression of the Negroes during the period after emancipation. It is a very touching book, and if you haven't read it, I highly recommend it to you.

DuBois disagreed completely with Booker T. Washington's position, along with many other young Negro leaders of this time, and he actually campaigned openly on a platform which opposed Booker T. Washington. He felt that Negroes had to become politically involved, that they had to demand their rights, and so on.

During the latter part of the century, during the industrial revolution, Negroes were making rather significant contributions in the form of a number of inventions. One man invented a shoe-lasting machine which reduced the manufacturing cost of shoes by 50 per cent. Another was a man by the name of Parker who invented a tobacco press which was widely used. Another Negro inventor of this time was Elija McCoy, who obtained some 50 patents on mechanisms which related to the lubrication of engines and machines. There are hundreds of other examples which I am sure you can uncover through your own reading and research. The Negroes were not without, shall we say, savoir-faire, interest and know-how.

They were making all kinds of contributions.

By the turn of the century, despite the fact that slavery was only slightly over 30 years removed, Negroes had accomplished a number of things. There were such people as Paul Laurence Dunbar, the poet. By 1900 there were 150 Negro weekly newspapers in this country; there were three dailies. One of the best works on the history of the Negro was done by a man named George Washington Williams, a two-volume edition which told the story of the Negro race in America from 1619 to 1880. He has often been called the Bancroft of Negro historians. This book was widely received and looked upon as a good work of scholarship. At the turn of the century then, with a large number of Negroes still encapsulated in the South, we see two divergent schools of thought. One was saying, "Be quiet, work, learn, and so forth, do not push." The other was saying, "It is time for us to make demands, to move and to try to obtain full citizenship in society."

Around 1905 a very significant meeting took place in Niagara Falls, Canada, led by DuBois and a number of what you might call the "young lions" of the Negro group. At this time they considered the whole problem of civil rights and the position of the Negro, what could be done about it, and also how they could, in a sense, combat the influence of Booker T. Washington, who was looked on perhaps not quite as an Uncle Tom but certainly as someone whose philosophy was not leading to the dynamic change which they thought was necessary. They met again the following year, 1906, at Harper's Ferry. It was out of these meetings that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded in about 1909. This organization, although its first board was largely white, began immediately to follow a course which it has pursued ever since (even though it is perhaps becoming much more militant than it has been in the past) of engaging in court fights on issues involving the rights of minorities of all kinds. Two years later saw the founding of the National Urban League, which up until recently has concerned itself pretty much with increasing job opportunities for Negroes. The National Association of Negro Women was also founded around this time, as well as a number of lodges and fraternities, some of which still exist today -- The Knights of Pythias, The Knights of Tabor and so forth -- these being organizations which stress cultural improvement and welfare and also provide opportunities for socialization and leadership. They are very prevalent among certain groups of Negroes today, although I would contend that the newer generation is moving away from them.

There had been a gradual migration of Negroes from the South, which increased at the time of World War I, accelerated by the demands of the war for greater production of goods. This migration became such a big problem that southerners made real efforts to persuade the Negroes to stay. Opposing them, of course, were the northerners who tried to entice them away.

The period of World War I was a period of great frustration for Negroes. The dominant theme of this time was making the world safe for democracy. Negroes enlisted and were drafted; they fought with valor in France. But they were never allowed to become a part of the American Expeditionary Forces. You may not realize this, but the first truly integrated war fought by this country was the Korean conflict. In the Battle of San Juan Hill in 1898 Negroes fought as a unit, but they fought under white officers. During World War I the 369th Infantry, which had a battalion or two of Negroes in it, was a famous fighting outfit. But to show you the climate of the times, the Negroes in the 369th Infantry were shipped to France not with their peers but on separate ships. When they arrived in France they were assigned not as members of the AEF but as members of the French Army! In a number of books there are colorful accounts of these troops. They were known as a gallant outfit; they spent perhaps the longest period of time of any American unit in the trenches. At one time they were in the trenches of France for 191 days without relief, which was a record. The entire battalion was decorated, and in addition, 171 individuals received the Croix de guerre and the Legion of Honor. The unit was known by the Germans as the "Hell Fighters" because of their toughness and their refusal to give ground. It was said that this unit never lost an inch of territory, never had a trench taken away from them. This despite the fact that they were not allowed to be a part of the American units. They were also prohibited from fraternizing with the French, particularly the women of France. There were all kinds of orders going down about, "Keep the Negro troops away. Do not let them offend our white American brothers," and so on.

World War I meant an increase in the socio-economic status of a number of Negroes, because working in war plants and so forth was lucrative. It also meant that the Negro, after hearing a number of the propaganda messages associated with the war, began to think that things would be better, or should be better, once the war was over. Remember, too, that some 200,000 Americans had been exposed to other cultures and treated in a different way while fighting in the name of democracy. They came back to this country with certain demands upon their lips.

Much of this was very quickly smashed, in what is known as the Red Summer of 1919. During this time approximately 25 race riots took place in this country in major urban cities, in the South and into the North. One significant thing about these incidents is that Negroes were now fighting back and killing whites. This is something that had not happened with the lynchings that took place earlier in the South, with the exception of isolated incidents. If you think that the recent "long hot summer" was bad, it was not. I think only one white person was killed in direct connection with these particular disturbances, and this was a man who happened to get out of a car and was hit by a rock or run over by a car or something. But in the riots of 1919, large numbers of individuals were wounded and several were killed. This was the beginning of the big Red scare, with a great deal of animosity and hostility by whites toward Negroes.

1920 marks also what is known as the Harlem Renaissance, a period of great outpouring of Negro art, literature and other intellectual accomplishments. During this period a number of Negro writers and poets (James Weldon Johnson, DuBois, McCabe and others, all centered in Harlem) formed a kind of intellectual community. Out of this community poured a number of books, plays, novels and so on. For those of you who are in literature, at least in the area of poetry, I would suggest that there are a number of poems written by these people which youngsters would find interesting.

This was the period during which we first see emerging on the scene people like Langston Hughes and Walter White, who later became head of the N. A. A. C. P. He was a novelist and writer before this time. Paul Robeson, who has come in for some criticism in later years, Ethel Waters, Josephine Baker -- all these people were very active during the glowing years of the 20s.

However, as we all know, the 1930s brought upon us the Depression. Consequently there is a saying among Negroes, "The last to be hired and the first to be fired." This principle was very much in operation during the Depression years, so that Negroes perhaps suffered more than other groups. I was a child myself at this time, and I recall very vividly that in my community we all looked like members of a military unit, or a parochial school. All of us were dressed by the government, and we all looked alike. You think blue denim is a new fad. It's nothing new! That's what we all wore. We all ate the same kind of food, too. (This was in Dallas, Texas, by the way.) The Depression was a severe blow for Negroes.

It was during World War II that certain efforts were begun which led ultimately to a bettering of the position of the Negro in American life and, as was pointed out by our initial speaker, much of this came through executive order, which bypasses Congress and allows the President within his executive powers to do things without getting hung up with filibusters, opposition and so forth.

In 1941 the Fair Employment Practices Act was established by executive order, and a Fair Employment Practices Board was established. In 1954, by executive order again, President Eisenhower ordered that no holders of government contracts could engage in the practice of discrimination. President Truman integrated the armed services in an executive order, as I mentioned earlier.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 marks perhaps the first significant return by the federal government to concern over civil rights. This actually led to the establishment of a Commission on Civil Rights and gave the Attorney General the power to get injunctions against people who interfered with voting rights. (Obviously this problem has not been solved yet. All you have to do is look at what is going on in Alabama at the present time.) It also established within the Justice Department a Civil Rights Division. There was also the Civil Rights Act of 1960 which again included voting and was expanded to cover bombings, interference with court orders, and also elections.

During the post-World War II period there were certain Supreme Court decisions which also helped broaden the sphere of possible movement of Negroes, namely the decision in 1948 which struck down restrictive covenants in cases where people had signed a pact not to sell or let anyone into a particular neighborhood. In 1953 another decision said that anyone who broke a contract which was in existence at that time could not be punished for it. This was a wedge in the whole area of housing.

The history of the Negro in American life can be divided into periods: Up through 1917 there was a period during which there was a quest for identity; after this time there was perhaps a quest for acceptance and equality.

One thing that the isolation of the Negro in American life has done: It has set the stage for the situation which you find today, and I think Louis Lomax points this out. By keeping Negroes isolated or encapsulated in their own communities, the dominant society has forced them in many ways to develop a cadre of leadership. People such as Shuttlesworth and Martin Luther King, Jr. were pilots of the Negro community, supported by members of the Negro community, educated outside the community but still maintaining their roots and their allegiance to it. Consequently, there is available within the group a wide array of talent, subtly and slowly developed over the years, which allows it to be very active in protest movements and so on.

I think the events of the past ten years, particularly since the Supreme Court decisions, have been very significant. They have led to a tremendous modification of the self-image of the American Negro. Up to this time many Negroes saw themselves quite negatively, but through the mass media, through seeing what happened at Clinton, Tennessee, and Little Rock, and seeing the heroic things that have been done by a very few people, I think the average Negro now sees himself in a completely different light.

I promised in closing to talk briefly about some considerations for utilizing the information you are hearing today and the materials which you see here. For too long the Negro has been set aside from the mainstream of American life. Such facts, for example, as that 14 Negroes won Medals of Honor during the Civil War, are completely eliminated from our textbooks. The whole myth that the Negro is not a courageous fighting man was allowed to persist all the way through World War II, which we fought with segregated armed forces. I think it is essential, no matter how we try to increase awareness of the contributions of various groups to the mainstream of American life, that we avoid Brotherhood Weeks; that we avoid separate, isolated units on individuals; that poetry encompass the poetic contributions of all writers and that this become a natural part of the curriculum, not something that is set aside. This may mean that if textbooks are not available, you as teachers will have to devise your own materials and introduce these either in written form or in oral presentation. I do implore you to make this as natural and realistic a part of the content of the learning situation as it can be. I think that to make it something special and something that is aside is to perhaps diminish its possible impact. We've had Brotherhood Weeks and we've had units that preached on this, but my feeling is that in many cases little has been accomplished.

Question and Answer Period

Question:

To what extent has the Negro participated in the attempt to solve the Negro's problem?

Dr. Webster:

I think that if you go back into the history of the Negroes, even in the post-slavery period, you'd find all kinds of efforts at self-help, efforts to organize businesses, to organize benevolent societies, all these kinds of things. I think you know of Negro leaders and others who try to help the group solve problems. I think that Negroes, to the extent that they have had the opportunity to do so, have always tried to participate in the solution of their problems. However, the solution of problems, as you know, is dependent perhaps upon the changing of other individuals who may be also symbiotically involved with the problem. Therefore, it's a difficult question to answer. I would say that from the first day the Negroes came to this country there was some effort made by them to solve their own problems.

Dr. Lapp:

May I add something at this point? The trouble is that this story, which is available in print, of the Negro's efforts on his own behalf beginning from the pre-Revolutionary period right through the Civic War to the post-Civil War period is all in those narrow monographs that you find in journals of history in the exclusive university libraries. The story is there. It should be put into textbooks and made available.

Question:

This question quotes an article in the New York Times which says that the Negro is the only foreign group prohibited from bringing and practicing his own culture in America. Hence, after many generations, the Negro has given up the fight. Is that a valid argument, or is it one factor in the condition of the Negro at the present time?

Dr. Webster:

First of all, I believe we should point out that there was no one Negro culture brought to this country. The slaves were brought here from all over western Africa and represented a variety of cultures. Therefore the slaves who originally came here did not possess one, single cultural pattern. They reflected perhaps all of the cultural patterns prevalent in their section of Africa. Consequently, I think the institution of slavery did serve to wash away all remnants of those earlier cultures. Some anthropologists have tried to study Negro religion, to trace it back to its African origin, but these attempts have not been too rewarding. The Negro has had to start over and develop a unique subculture which is a modification of the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture in our society.

I heard a very interesting statement by a man in Sacramento recently, a man of Mexican-American extraction. He was trying to help the audience understand the problems faced in dealing with Mexican-

Americans, pointing out that they reflect a different culture, the Latin orientation. He emphasized that Negroes, so far as Mexican-Americans are concerned, are Anglo-Saxon. And this is true, though they may make unique adaptions or modifications of the major culture. Negroes in general think just like a white person, although certain values may be looked at in a different way. You also have to realize that in the case of every other identifiable ethnic minority group (Orientals, Mexican-Americans and so forth) the ties between these groups and their original cultures have never been severed. When the Japanese came here originally, the Japanese government fought many battles with Washington over the ways in which they were being treated. The Chinese, even though they didn't have as much support from their weakened government, did at least have a culture which was still intact. They continued to receive reinforcements from this culture, and they could go back to it. One big problem, I think, about the assimilation of Mexican-Americans is the proximity between Southern California and Mexico and the resident-alien provisions which allow a constant floor of people to come into this particular subculture, reinforcing some of the traditional values. People also go back across the border, and therefore the Latin idea is still maintained. For the Negro, this has been shattered over a period of 200 or more years.

Question:

Did the North utilize Negro soldiers during the Civil War?

Dr. Webster:

As stated earlier, an attempt was made not to use Negroes in the Civil War, and the same thing happened in the Revolutionary War. They were told, "We don't want to use you." However, as the war began, I think the Union expected to win rather handily, and they were misguided in this assumption, as you know. Eventually Negroes were utilized in this struggle. The Emancipation Proclamation, I think, was issued at a turning point in the war, when the North really thought it had a chance to win. Consequently this was not only a military blow but also a kind of propaganda blow designed hopefully to create havoc behind the Southern lines, with the assumption that when the Southern Negroes heard about it they would revolt. This didn't happen. In many cases the Negroes stayed right where they were and continued looking after the master's plantation and his family. There was no great deflection to the North as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation. But this was the strategy.

Dr. Lapp:

I'd like to add one more point, and this is that our involvement with other countries at this time was a factor. We were very anxious to keep England from recognizing the Confederacy, and in England the antislavery movement was powerful. Prior to the Emancipation Proclamation, England felt there was no real moral issue in choosing between the North and the South, because while the South had slavery, the North wasn't really condemning it. Lincoln felt that by issuing the proclamation he could make a great moral point with the English people, thereby preventing England from recognizing the Confederacy. So foreign affairs enters the picture again!

IV. Negro History in the Current Generation

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I'm taking my life in my hands talking about contemporary Negro history, because you've been living it, along with the many Negroes who have been using this last 10 or 20 years to make a real impact on American society. So if I make mistakes in history, you can correct me, because you were around when it occurred. The earlier speakers didn't have to worry about that because you were not around during the Civil War. And because so many of us have grown up in the American school system, I'm afraid very few of us knew anything about the Negro history they were telling us.

When I went away to college I was abysmally ignorant about the contributions of the Negro in American history, primarily because all of us who grew up in Northern schools found there was nothing in the textbooks which gave any accurate picture of the Negro in American life. The only thing I can recall seeing about Negro history in my textbooks is the picture of happy slaves sitting out on the plantation singing while they picked the cotton. And for a long time I had the impression that this must have been what it was like in the Old South in those days. Let me tell you very quickly I've been disabused of that. In the course of learning something about Negro history I have found out that the slaves were not very happy on the plantations. They spent a great deal of time in revolt against the situation that they found there.

I think it's important to know about Negro history from the point of view of what the slave period did in terms of the Negro, because it helps us to put into context the Negro in contemporary days. Charles Silberman indicates in his book called Crisis in Black and White, which I see is over on the counter and which I heartily recommend to those of you who have not yet read it, that Americans being the kind of people they are have always found it necessary to justify even the most immoral of behavior. In the course of defending slavery, they developed a whole new theory called the Chattel Law Theory of the Human Being. In this theory they stated that Negroes were something less than human beings. They were chattel; they were property, and as such did not have the right, nor did they deserve the right, to the same rules, regulations and privileges of other human beings.

Many of us in the current era rejected that theory, and I hope all of us by this time have rejected it. At the same time, it has some implications for the present. It has meant an uphill struggle for the Negro in the United States simply to become identified as a human being. This is not true about other cultural groups in the United States which help to make up our vast melting pot. No other groups that I know of have had to overcome this kind of attitude. It's very simple to acculturate if you are an Italian-born person coming to the United States for the first time, or a Scandinavian. Even an Oriental, who appears different physically, has a deep culture and a rooted kind of family existence which does not occur in Negro life. It doesn't occur primarily because of the slave period.

I'm sure that in the earlier sessions you heard of the things that happened during the slave period -- the breaking up of families and the uprooting of individuals from any kind of close family ties. The fact that the Negro family today is essentially a woman-oriented family is easy to understand when you recognize that the male during slavery was normally pulled out of the family and sold off. Only the mother had contact with the children as they grew up. This matriarchy prevails to some extent even in the modern-day concept. Many of you who are teaching schools in which there are Negro children know that there are numbers of them who don't have any male influence at home -- no grandfather, no father, in some cases not even a brother. The only influence in the family is female. Interestingly enough, even when there is a male in the family, the likelihood is that the breadwinner of that family is the female. The reason for that is simple. Negroes are discriminated against in employment, and male Negroes are discriminated against even more than female. So it's very difficult for the male Negro to find a job. Even the jobs on low-income levels that are easy to find are not easy to find for American Negro males. So the woman frequently finds herself as the breadwinner in the Negro family of today.

We have another problem. Our welfare laws have until very recently made it really necessary for a family having financial difficulty to find some way of getting rid of the male in the family, because until very recently it was impossible for a family to receive any kind of welfare benefits for needy children if the male in the family was present, even though he was unemployed. Fortunately in recent years there has been a little bit more understanding about issues, and this is no longer true. It is now possible to get aid for needy children with the father still in the home, if he is unemployed. I think this is a step in the right direction.

There is another aspect of Negro history which is important for us to know about in order to understand current-day history. We have to find out what it's like to have an essentially American culture and yet not be part of the American society. The American Negro can be very aptly termed "ASPs". Most of you have heard the expression that certain people are WASPs. That's White Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Well, Negroes are Anglo-Saxon Protestants. They are very much a part of the American culture, with all its faults, with all its values, with all its misrepresentations. We who are Negro in the United States adopt that culture as much as the Caucasian does. We aspire, too, for split-level homes, for a life in the suburbs, a second family car, and all the accouterments that go along with being an American. We have all the false values as well as some of the good values of American life.

Unfortunately, although we accept the values of the society, the society has not accepted the Negro. This creates another problem, psychologically, for the American Negro. There's always a kind of search for identity. Many years ago, in the early '50s, a book was written by Ralph Ellison called Invisible Man. I think this basically explains what occurs to the American Negro in today's society: He has been until very recently the invisible man. Nobody notices him. He is in none of the things that are part of the society. If you turn on the radio, the voices you hear come from Anglo-Caucasians. If you turn on television, the faces you see are Anglo-Caucasian faces. If you look at advertisements as you drive down the street, they contain Anglo-Caucasians. When you go to school and open up your "Dick, Sally and Jane" book, Dick, Sally and Jane are always Anglo-Caucasians, and I think possibly Spot is also Anglo-Caucasian. The Negro youngster picking up that textbook finds nowhere any reflection of himself. He has found no sense of identification with the society in which he is living, which he is really a part of and yet not a part of.

All kinds of things happen as a result of this. People seeking identity may find different ways of trying to achieve it. Many of you remember the Negro portrayed in the old movies. She was always a very sympathetic colored mammy who gave solace to the young white lady when she was having problems. This image of the American Negro prevailed for quite some time, because there was no other. I'm happy to point out that there are many Negroes who are very nasty and not solicitous at all, and I hope we will continue to have our share of nasty people, just as the Anglo-Caucasians do. But in our ordinary approaches to the American Negro we haven't seen this. We tend to look at him in stereotypes: He's either extremely jovial or extremely frightened of things like ghosts. (And I can remember the old movies again, currently coming back on television to plague us. One I remember distinctly where the Negro man went through a graveyard and turned white from fear.)

We also hear, for example, that all Negroes sing and dance, all of them are musical. I hope none of you has put a Negro youngster in a chorus simply because you thought he could sing because he's a Negro. Marian Anderson sings, Bill Robinson dances. It doesn't necessarily follow, however, that every Negro male dances and every Negro female sings.

I had an interesting experience along this line which I will share with you. One of my good friends in the Los Angeles Department of Social Welfare was invited to speak to an audience about the impact of social welfare in Southern California. In the course of preparing for the program, she had occasion to deal with the program chairman. She talked with her first by phone, and the chairman was not aware that my friend was Negro. Later they made arrangements to meet for lunch, and when the program chairman learned that her co-worker was a Negro she was somewhat nonplussed. However, she recovered very well and began talking about general things. Then she said, "We're having a terrible time with the program. One of the people we were going to have for entertainment can't come. I wonder if you know someone who sings." My friend is fairly sophisticated, and she recovers quickly too. So she replied, "I'm not sure, but I can find out." She checked around and found a couple of people who could sing, neither of whom happened to be Negro, and sent them to the chairman, who put them on the program. On the day of the program, as she was going to her seat, the chairman came running up all excited and said, "Oh, I'm so glad you're here. We've had a crisis. The people who were going to sing can't come. I know you're going to give the main address, but I wonder -- could you sing a song before you give the address?" This may sound like it isn't a true story, but unfortunately it is. The woman assumed that because my friend was Negro she could sing. Needless to say, my friend told her, "I'm afraid if I sing I'll have nobody here to listen to my speech."

The point I'm trying to make is that it's very difficult for people, and teachers particularly, to make any impact in terms of communicating with someone if they approach that person from the point of view of a stereotype. You have to recognize that you are dealing with individuals. They obviously come from certain backgrounds, but while those backgrounds are common in some senses, they certainly are separate in others. No Negro child is going to be exactly like another Negro child, just as no white child is like another white child.

It's important for you to know the sense of nonidentification that these youngsters sometimes have with the communities in which they live. You have to understand what it's like to be a Negro youngster in the American society of today and not have any sense of identity. You have to understand what causes the behavior in Negro youngsters that some people call antisocial. This is another aspect of resisting the stereotype and the place that society has made for the Negro in America.

To give you another example, it's quite possible that hostility is a way of rejecting the society that has rejected you. The youngster who refuses to behave at all in class may be doing this because it's his only way of getting any kind of attention. He knows that if he doesn't stand out in some way he's likely again to be non-identified. You should understand this from the point of view of any child who seeks to have a way in which he stands out, but it's particularly important to understand it with the Negro youngster, because it comes not just from the immediate individual needs but from the entire social needs of the American community as the Negro sees it.

We have to understand one other thing. There is beginning to be, in the United States, a very strong identification among Negroes with being Negro. This is new, and I think it's long overdue. For many years the American Negro tried very hard to be white. He tried very hard always to be the Anglo-Caucasian. In fact, the American Negro in his own social group placed great stress on the youngster who looked most nearly Caucasian, who had the long beautiful hair and the striking features that seemed Caucasian. This is because the Negro himself accepted the theory of American life that said, "Beauty is in the Anglo-Caucasian mold, and to be beautiful you must fit that mold." Fortunately we are growing away from this in American Negro life now. A term called "negritude" is beginning to be adopted. There is now an understanding, in the American Negro society anyway, of being Negro and being beautiful. This is a big change, though it has by no means reached as far as it should. There are still too many youngsters who are made to feel they are not attractive simply because they are dark or do not have the kind of hair that the Anglo-Caucasian has. But the change is beginning to arrive. There is beginning to be an understanding and a feeling that being Negro is good.

There used to be an old saying, "If you're brown, stick around; if you're black, go back; but if you're white, you're right." In this society we hope this will no longer be true, that youngsters can begin to look at themselves as individuals and to find their own ways of meeting their individual needs. This is the kind of thing that you as teachers can be particularly helpful with. I think if any teacher has a reason for existence, it's to help an individual find his own abilities and find his way for progressing into a unique person. Certainly you're communicating a body of knowledge, but in addition to this you're trying to help an individual develop his own innate ability, to have some sense of his own worth, and to be able to work with himself to achieve his own goal in life. This kind of thing is extremely important.

If we're going to talk about present-day Negro history, it's very important also to stress the new things that are happening. I'm sure you've heard about the slave revolts in the old days, and you are aware that the Civil Rights Revolution, as it is termed, is not new. It has taken some new forms in the last five or six years, but it's certainly not new. It had its essence in some of those slave revolts, but it has its essence every day in the kind of things the American Negro faces -- when he looks for a job, seeks a home, or tries to get an education. He meets every day the kind of resistance from the Anglo-Caucasian society that no Anglo-Caucasian can basically understand, since he has not really met it.

Some of you may have read John Howard Griffin's Black Like Me, in which he describes an experiment he attempted in the South. By injecting a dye into his system he became Negroid in appearance and passed through the South doing the same things he had done when he was Anglo-Caucasian. He then analyzed the things that happened to him as a result of this change in his skin color only, and he became well convinced that being Negro does change the atmosphere around you. It changes the atmosphere in a number of ways. The American Negro meets this every day; the Anglo-Caucasian doesn't. There are some Anglo-Caucasians who have done what the American Indian calls "walking in another man's moccasins for a few moons" and now understand the problem of the American Negro in modern-day society. But not many Anglo-Caucasians understand it, and you therefore have all sorts of interesting questions arising. People ask, "Why aren't there a lot of American scientists or educators who are Negro?" And "Why, if the Negro is not basically inferior, has he not produced an Einstein?" And "Why, if the Negro is not basically inferior, has he not risen to great heights?"

There are answers to these questions, and they are found in the culture in which we live. They come from the lack of motivation, the stagnation of American life as it affects the American Negro. The American Negro does not simply clutch his diploma in his hot little hand and go to an employer and say, "I've made it. Now judge me as an individual, properly educated in your system, and accept me for a job." This doesn't happen. With his diploma in his hand, the American Negro has frequently been turned away from jobs which are really beneath his ability. If ever you want an example of the waste of Negro manpower, take a poll of United States Post Office employees. When an American Negro comes out of college or university with a degree in engineering, sociology, business or psychology, and the doors are being slammed in his face, one of the avenues open to him is examination for federal service, and for many years, examination for federal service meant the post office for American Negroes. If you were to take a poll of people currently working in the post office, I would venture to say that you would find more master's degrees and Ph. D. s than you could find in almost any industry anywhere in the United States. That's a real waste of manpower. Those same people, given a change in atmosphere -- which, hopefully, we're achieving in 1965 -- cannot simply leave the post office and move into a scientific career. In the 10 or 15 years that they have been buried in the post office, things have been happening in the scientific world; experience has been gained by their Caucasian classmates which they have not been able to gain.

So it's not enough for American industry to say, "We're sorry for the inequities of the past. Now you're free and equal. Join us in equality." It just doesn't work that way. It's what someone has called wanting to find the "instant Negro" -- the person who appears on your doorstep after 150 years of slavery and lack of motivation and lack of incentive and lack of education and lack of good food in many cases -- and suddenly you expect him, because you wave a magic wand, to appear on your doorstep as a fully qualified person, able to move into the top level of management. There is no such thing as this "instant Negro." You have to recognize what those 20 or 30 years of discrimination have done to the American Negro's ability to move into the mainstream of American life now. It just isn't possible.

This means that special efforts must be made, and I think this is where there is a great deal of misunderstanding by those who are living through the Civil Rights Revolution of the 1960s. You hear that the Negro is now asking for preferential treatment. His answer to that is, "Well, for 20 or 30 or 50 years, all the whites had preferential treatment, and nobody said anything about it. We were not preferred; we were put into the background and not given any opportunity."

Are we asking for preferential treatment? Yes. It's time to make up for the past. We're trying to make special efforts in terms of the present. It's time for employers to say not simply "I'm looking for qualified Negroes," but "I'm willing to find qualifiable Negroes and assist them to become qualified for the job." That means training programs on the job. That means bringing people into industry in different ways than they have been brought in before. It means actively seeking out minority applicants. We say to employers who appear before the Fair Employment Practices Commission, "You have to make a special effort." Employers will say, "We don't get applicants for our jobs. People don't apply." Obviously people don't apply. If you passed by a company and looked in the window and saw that every face in the room was Anglo-Caucasian, you would figure, "It won't pay me to go there and apply for a job because he doesn't give jobs to Negroes." That company may have a policy that says, "We are absolutely nondiscriminatory in our hiring." But American Negroes are rather leery about written policy statements. They would much prefer to see the application of those policies shown by an actual representative in the firm who is Negro. They would like to see an actual face in that room which shows that the firm does hire on a nondiscriminatory basis.

One of the best ways for an employer to advertise a nondiscriminatory policy is simply to hire some Negroes. That's the best advertisement there is. A policy statement will not do it. People will not apply to you simply because you put a little statement in your ad that says, "We are an equal opportunity employer." Many American Negroes don't know what that means any more. Sometimes we say to an employer, "If you say you're not getting any Negro applicants, we believe you. But why are you not?" And we point out some of the things that I've just said. "You don't have any Negroes working for you. You have made no special effort. You are not going out and seeking."

How do you go out and seek? You begin to use some of the sources in the Negro community. Find out. Make some contacts. Segregation has some value, at least from the point of view of looking for workers. When you want to find Negroes, you know where to find them. You can find them in the Negro churches, you can find them in the Negro neighborhoods. You don't have to worry about where to find Negroes in Marin County; you can find them in Marin City, with no problem. You can find them in the Negro organizations, you can find them through Civil Rights organizations, through the facilities of the N.A.A.C.P., CORE, and some of the new groups that have formed in the Bay Area. You can begin to look at the Negro community itself. The Negro community is rather highly organized. They have newspapers, they have radio stations, and you can advertise there. Someone once asked me when I said this at a meeting, "Why should I put an advertisement in the Negro newspaper? Don't Negroes read the other daily papers?" I said, "Sure, but when they see an ad in the daily papers that says 'equal opportunity employer' they think, 'Uh-uh, that doesn't mean me.' " An ad in a Negro newspaper that says "equal opportunity employer" has more meaning; they know that it really is addressed to them. These are some of the special efforts I'm talking about.

The Civil Rights Revolution today is having a kind of rebirth. This is obviously for a specific reason. We like to deal in fancy phrases in America, about how well things are going. "We're progressing; the economy has never been better; everybody is doing well; we live in an affluent society." But we've suddenly discovered that we don't live in a very affluent society. Twenty per cent of our people live in abject poverty. Interestingly enough, an overly high percentage of those come from minority groups. You've heard statistics which indicate that Negroes make up about 10 per cent of the population. They make up about 20 per cent of the unemployed. You've heard the figures that show dropout rates among minority youngsters, and that itself is interesting. Dropouts occur for a number of reasons, but among them is the feeling, "It doesn't matter whether I ever get an education or not. I will not be able to get a job when I get out of school." So it's necessary to broaden the horizon and make sure that there is nondiscrimination in employment, that whatever jobs are available -- and I sometimes get very pessimistic about how many jobs will be available for all of us in the future -- but whatever jobs are available will be available to the American society over-all.

There is no reason why an American Negro should be taxed for being an American Negro -- by not having jobs, not having housing, not having proper education. American Negroes should be allowed to take their chances in this competitive society of ours on the same basis as anybody else. But it's not happening now. What's happening in American society, despite the fact that in general everything is a little bit better than it was 20 years ago, is that the gap between the American Negro and the American Caucasian is widening. It is not narrowing. The average American Negro today earns slightly more than half the income of the average American Caucasian.

There are reasons for that. The American Negro has traditionally been lumped and clustered in those jobs at the low end of the economic scale. He does not bring home the same amount of pay that others do. He has traditionally been excluded from unions, and therefore has not had the same gains as Caucasians with the benefit of union membership. He has found himself locked in ghettoes in American cities.

We look at our American cities today, and we find two kinds of people living in the poor cities: the extremely wealthy in the 40-story apartment towers and the extremely poor living in the slums right next to them. In fact, the slums were displaced to put up those 40-story towers now housing the very wealthy people. The urban renewal programs, originally designed to beautify the "poor" city and to bring back those people who were living in the poverty so that they could live in decent housing, have not accomplished this. What has happened is that the urban renewal programs have moved the slum residents out to new slums. They have built not low-income housing or even middle-income housing but extremely high-cost housing, so that those people who were displaced are unable to move back in.

This means certain kinds of patterns for schools as well. It means that you're going to find segregated schools in certain communities. It means you're going to find youngsters again who are really discouraged about this whole American life. Their parents were discouraged before them, and they see no reason to be any more optimistic. They don't see any changes in the patterns around them. They have no contact with aspiration. The reason they have no contact is because we have such segregated communities.

I can't resist making some reference to the Proposition 14 battle. I think this will again put a significant damper on aspiration for the American Negro. Unless we can begin to break up the central cores of our cities like Los Angeles and San Francisco and Oakland and Berkeley and Richmond in which we find large clusters of American Negroes having no contact with anyone else, what you will have is self-fulfilling despondency. Every time you meet somebody, they are in the same state of despair that you are. You find no ray of hope anywhere.

I think there is another reason for breaking up ghettoes. I believe the Caucasian world is seriously limited by having no contact with the Negro world. I see this as being really intercultural. I do not see all the good coming to the Negro community by integration of housing facilities or schools. I think the Anglo-Caucasian community is missing a great deal by not having contact with cultures other than its own. Negroes should be looked at as human beings and individuals. You should get to know them as friends -- or not friends, whichever you choose, according to the individual. We don't have enough contact with one another. We don't understand somebody else's aspirations. We've spent a great deal of our lives proving that the people who are in our image are correct and right, and that people in somebody else's image are not. Unless we begin to cross these physical boundaries that have made it impossible for us to meet each other as individuals and as human beings, I cannot say that in 1970 the Civil Rights Revolution will have been won. I have the feeling we will be finding it even more forceful, less nonviolent than we currently find it.

The current heroes of American civil rights are people who depend on nonviolence. Martin Luther King, who is probably the best proponent of certain aspects of the Civil Rights Revolution, recently received the Nobel Peace Prize, essentially because his movement is a nonviolent movement based on Gandhian principles. But I wonder how long American Negro leaders will be able to communicate with American Negroes who are not of the American Negro leadership. American Negro leadership is extremely middle class and is as much in the image of middle-class America as anybody else. How are they going to communicate with those people on Fillmore Street in San Francisco, for example, who are not middle class and couldn't care less whether there's an American Negro in the Cabinet? They care a lot more about whether or not they have a job. American Negro leaders are not going to be able to keep the lid on the American Negro for much longer unless there is a great deal more involvement by the American white population in this movement toward equal rights. This is not the Negro's struggle; it's a struggle for all of America. And until every single American gets involved in it and begins to move with it, we're not going to make any real progress. It's time to forget such phrases as, "When American Negroes learn to do things my way, they they will be accepted in society," or "When they are in my image, they will be accepted into my society." How many times have you heard this? "Well, you know, if Negroes earned the right to these things, they could get them." You don't earn the right to humanity; you're born to that.

I always find it interesting that people very seldom take

American Negroes who have achieved as being typical of the American Negro. Somebody mentions Ralph Bunche. "Well, he's an exception." Somebody mentions George Washington Carver. "Oh, well, he was an exception too." Frederick Douglass was an exception, Benjamin Banneker was an exception, and all these other achievers were exceptions. But the person you read about in the newspaper who was involved in a battle down on Fillmore Street -- "Now that's typical! That's just like Negroes. They're always involved in that kind of thing."

I think we must begin to recognize that it's no time for excuses. It's no time for saying, "It's not my fault. If they only did right, things would be better for them." It's time for us to attack all the problems of American society that make it possible for a whole group of people to be held at one low socio-economic level. This is not the fault of the American Negro. It could well be the fault of our society. Until we learn to find ways of attacking these problems and attacking them uniformly, with everybody involved in the fight, we're not going to make any impact on them.

We have a right at this stage to determine what kind of lives we're going to live in the future. We have the ability now to determine whether or not our cities will be composed of the very rich and the minority people, or whether our suburbs will remain totally lily-white. We have a choice at this point of deciding whether we're going to spend a great deal of money for welfare, for rehabilitation of people who have committed crimes against society, or whether we're going to begin to spend some money in advance of those problems, seeking to root out the causes that make people react in the ways that they do. It seems to me that a little bit of money spent judiciously now could mean a great saving in the kind of costs to American society of the despondent, the despairing, the person without hope.

This is what we're faced with. It is not only on the level of the American Negro, but it's more dramatic with the American Negro because he has been held in economic bondage for so long.

Again, you as teachers have a responsibility. And one of the responsibilities you have is to become knowledgeable -- to become knowledgeable about every single thing that might help you to be a better teacher. It seems to me that in becoming a better teacher you will have to know about the students you're teaching. You will have to know as much about them as you possibly can. You must know not only what they are today, but from what they came. You must know not just the American Negro youngster but the Spanish surname youngster, the child who is bilingual, the Anglo-Caucasian youngster who is probably the large bulk of your student population. You have to know them as individuals; you have to understand them as individuals; and you have to help them achieve a sense of dignity and a sense of worth. To do this you need a knowledge about the American Negro which is sadly lacking. I used to be very annoyed by the fact that we have Negro History Week. Almost as much annoyed as I am by the fact that we have something called Brotherhood Week. It seems to me we're trying to pack into one week of our lives some feeling of being responsible to one another as individuals and human beings. But I'm not so antagonistic to Negro History Week now. I see that if we didn't have Negro History Week, we'd have no contact at all with some of the contributions which have been made by the American Negro.

One of the earlier speakers mentioned the record put out by the Pepsi Cola Company, of all things, called "Adventures in Negro History." This record is an attempt to put out something on Negro History. It's certainly not anything in depth; it's a kaleidoscope. But if people listen to it, they may become curious about some of the names that are rapidly rattled off. They may ask, "Who are these people that I've never heard of before? Who is Frederick Douglass? What kind of speeches did he give? What is his relationship to American history? Who's the poet, Phyllis Wheatly? Who's Charles Dew? Who's Crispus Attucks? Who's Estevanico?" All these are Negroes who made contributions to North American and South American history. I think it's important to know about them, just as it is important to know about George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and the others. It's important for us to know, because it's important for us to identify. And because of that, I think teachers need to know. I think they should do everything they can to find out as much as they can about the backgrounds of the children in their class, whatever it is. They should find ways of helping each child to identify with a success image somewhere, ways to integrate history so that we will no longer need a special course in elementary schools on Negro history, any more than we need one in Italian-American history, or English-American history. Everybody should be included in the history of America. I'm delighted to find that there are some textbooks coming out now which reflect the intercultural child. You can see youngsters of various backgrounds in the history books. You can read a little bit about the culture of the American Indian, the culture of the Spanish-American and the culture of the Negro. I think this is important. You teachers now have tools at your command. You're beginning to have things that you can show youngsters. I think Negro history is as important to the Anglo-Caucasian youngsters as it is to the Negro youngster. They, too, need to know the contributions made by all people to American culture.

I'd like to leave you time to discuss some of these points. I'm sure many of you will not agree with the things I've said. I would like to give you an opportunity to ask questions.

In closing, I would like to quote from a poem which I like very much. I think it explores and expresses very well the necessity for action now in terms of civil rights and full inclusion of the American Negro in the American society. The quotation comes from a poem called "Montage of a Dream Deferred," by a well-known Negro poet named Langston Hughes. You may recognize one of the lines, which was used as the title of a play which ran on Broadway for some time. Langston Hughes says:

> What happens to a dream deferred?
> Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun?
> Or fester like a sore and then run?

Does it stick like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar over like syrupy sweet?
Maybe it just sags like a heavy load.
Or does it explode?

This is the thing we're all concerned about. Where is American society going? And what place will the American Negro have in it?

Question and Answer Period

Question:

What is there, if anything, in the contemporary Negro family which causes the Caucasian teacher to be so afraid and anxiety-prone when having to deal with a child in the family? What can the Negro and the Caucasian do to better deal with the problem of anxiety between the races? Is it okay to be afraid?

Mrs. Hernandez:

It's okay to be afraid. Just whistle so nobody will know! Obviously fear is not limited to the American Negro, not to the American Caucasian. We live in an anxiety-ridden society; there's no question about that. All of us are anxious about one thing or another -- even if it's how we're going to make the payments on that split-level home.

I think part of the problem with the American-Caucasian teacher is the fact that he is so very middle-class. He is dealing, in the American Negro child, with a not-middle-class youngster. I'm not going to talk about the physical differences, but in some people this has a relationship. The very fact that the child is dark presents fears to the person, even though teachers are supposed to be a little more understanding than this. The problem is one of communication across lines, across boundaries. We have so many boundaries built up in our society -- across economic lines, across cultural lines, across racial lines. We must communicate across these barriers. The problem lies in not understanding, not knowing the Negro child or his family, in not understanding the kind of home environment the Negro child from a low socio-economic family is living in every day of his life.

Somebody has said that one of our problems is that we are asking people who come from an American culture which is essentially middle-class and middle-income to express the hopes and aspirations, the cultures and values of that society to a group that has never had any contact with it. That's part of the problem. How do you deal with it? You have to begin to break down those barriers, you have to cross those lines. You have to be willing, for example, when you're taking your practice teaching to learn what it's like to teach in a school district which has youngsters of different backgrounds than your own. I think it's a mistake to have only new teachers in those areas. I think we need exceptional teachers in those areas where there are exceptional problems. I don't feel it should be the Siberia of teaching. I think it's the greatest challenge a teacher can have, to meet a youngster who needs things from her that she can give. Unfortunately, too many school districts treat these schools as if they were Siberia. Only if a teacher is being disciplined is she sent into these lower socio-economic schools.

Question:

Are you in agreement with the sit-ins of CORE, etc. ? With your statement that the lid is going to come off, how do you personally feel about these tactics? Do you feel that the peaceful movement of

Dr. King is over?

Mrs. Hernandez:

I don't think the peaceful movement of Dr. King is over. I think there are significant numbers of American Negroes who will still abide by his kind of approach to the civil rights struggle. I also think there are going to be significantly more American Negroes who will not abide by it, who are not going to simply wait for Americans of Caucasian ancestry to make overtures to them in their good time. I am firmly convinced that the time is now. However you want to do it, if you want to do it peacefully or nonpeacefully, it's going to be done now. There's not going to be any chance to go back and say, "We'll take our time to do this."

About the tactics of the CORE movement and the sit-ins: I watched some of those things, and I had the feeling they were last-ditch tactics. They didn't pick a target and say, "Tomorrow we're going to go down and sit in on such-and-such a place." There was a whole long period of negotiation, discussion and attempts to change the situation before anybody sat in anywhere. I don't think they're the best tactics in the world. I'm sorry they had to be engaged in, but I understand why they were. I also understand why the colonists back in the 1700s had to engage in the Boston Tea Party. It was important and necessary to have something dramatic to bring things to a focus. You may not agree with every single tactic, but just because you don't agree with them, don't say, "I'm not in favor of the civil rights movement. I don't like the way they do things." I think it's up to you to change the causes that made it necessary for these people to be out demonstrating and sitting in and doing things that they don't particularly like to do.

Question:

How do you expect the Negro to reach the self-employed middle-class level in the business community? What steps should he take? Could you comment on a comparison between white and Negro earnings for college graduates, also comparison between white and Negro high school graduates and dropouts?

Mrs. Hernandez:

Obviously the way for the Negro to reach the status of being self-employed, owning his own business, is to do just what everybody else does: to become trained, to stay in school as long as he possibly can, to be encouraged by society to aspire to those levels. If you don't get any encouragement to go out and earn your own living and eventually become independent, you won't do it. There are not enough success symbols pointed up to the American Negro youngster. It's not that there aren't enough symbols; there are plenty of them. But they are not part of the everyday life that the youngster sees. The symbols in the ads are seldom Negroes; they're only beginning to be. Every once in a while now you'll drive down the street and you'll see an ad on a billboard that does have a minority person in it. You're beginning to see it in the major advertising of big companies. Television is beginning to break through this pattern as well. It's all small, but it's happening. You need some success symbols in the Negro community. You need encouragement for Negro youngsters to stay in school, to get their training, get their education. You need the help of law in the country so that any person who is discriminated against has some recourse. It has to be current public policy that discrimination is bad. Law must be in effect to assist in that long process known as education.

Question:

Why is it that other foreign groups have managed to overcome obstacles and become integrated into American life?

Mrs. Hernandez:

Somebody told me recently that a teacher took a poll of her class. She asked everyone in the class to indicate how many generations his family had been in the United States. There was only one youngster in the whole class who was a fifth generation American, and that student was an American Negro. So when you get down to it, I would say that Negroes probably have been in America a lot longer than most other Americans. Interestingly enough, they have never quite been included in the society. There's one very good reason for that. Any person who comes from a European background can eventually integrate. When he learns the language he becomes part of the society. American Negroes are the most visible minority in the nation, and that makes it very hard to assimilate.

Question:

These problems are not just the problems of the American Negro. Have you read "To Sir, With Love"? Please explain.

Mrs. Hernandez:

I have not read "To Sir, With Love." If someone wishes to identify himself and tell us what the story is about, I'll be glad to try to explain.

Member of Audience:

It's the story of a Negro gentleman who, although very well educated, can't get a job. He finally gets a teaching job . . .

Mrs. Hernandez:

Oh yes, now I know the book you're referring to. The author is from the West Indies, isn't he?

Another Member of Audience:

It's written by Edward Braithwaite.

Mrs. Hernandez:

I know the story you're talking about. As I recall, the book tells about this West Indian teacher, and the students' reaction to him. He was evidently an excellent teacher, and they all thought very highly of him.

You're right that this is not just the problem of the American Negro. There are problems of color throughout the world. If you have looked at things happening around the world, you recognize that in England, for example, they are just beginning to grapple with the problem, because of the influx of West Indian Negroes into London.

This goes back to the question that was asked earlier about anxieties and fears. When you come to a society which is competing for things that don't exist, or exist in scarce measure, you have anxieties and fears. If there are no jobs, then it's natural for a Caucasian to worry about the Negro taking his job. And if he can find a way to make it impossible for the Negro even to aspire to that job, he's perfectly willing to place him in a second-class society. This is true, I'm sure, in England, where there is competition for jobs that don't exist. Education there is a problem, too. There's no question that it's a problem not just of American society but of world society. It's the problem of trying to find a way in a so-called affluent country to share that affluence with everybody. We haven't yet discovered how to do this. I'm afraid that what we're dealing with now is only part of the problem. Solving the American Negro problem will not solve the problem of relationships among people all over the world.

We have a lot of work to do, and the only reason I'm concerned primarily about solving the American Negro problem is that I think it's an awful waste of people's energy to go on fighting on this kind of level, when by using the talents of all our people we can begin to attack those other major problems: How do we find full employment? How do we find a way to guarantee a world of peace?

V. Negro History and Culture

Harold B. Brooks, Jr.
Consultant, Negro American Labor Council

To begin, a brief reason why the African became the ideal slave. The Indian did not make a slave because he had been free to roam. So he would either run away, or he would die. Sometimes he would refuse to eat. The indentured servant was able to sneak off into the night and disappear into the affluent society of that time. But my grandfather and his brothers could be recognized no matter where they turned. So it seemed this was the answer to our problem.

The black man was the first automaton that the United States had, and upon the backs and the blood of this being was developed the industrial countries that we have today in Europe and America. The backbone of the Triangular Trade Agreement, which authorized ships to sail (1) from Europe to Africa with trade goods for buying slaves, (2) from Africa to the West Indies or America with slaves, and (3) back to Europe with colonial slave-grown goods, was the Negro.

The Negro had come from parts of Africa with highly organized civilizations. He was able, therefore, to adapt himself to some of the hardships. It's amazing that any of them survived the middle passage, where the slave ships were made to hold as many human beings as possible. On that long voyage across, many of the slaves stayed in areas that were only about 24 inches high. It's amazing, and a credit to the durability of the black man, that he was able to survive these trips.

Contrary to what most of us have been led to believe, the Negro was not happy with his plight, and he did not submit meekly. One of the first international marine law cases to come before the courts of England involved an African prince by the name of Joseph Cinque, who was captured by the slave traders. During the crossing he was able to get free from his bonds and to free some of his fellow passengers. During the night they sneaked up aboard ship and killed the slave traders. They then sailed the ship on into the New World, where they were rebuffed. They eventually ended up before the courts of England, fighting to be free.

It's interesting to note that the old diagrams and pictures of slave ships show nets stretching out on all sides. These nets were there because of the precious cargo which the ships carried. The owners knew that, if given an opportunity, the Africans would leap overboard. In other words, they would rather die than be taken away from their homeland. As fate would have it, out of approximately 13 or 14 million Africans who began the voyage across, more than half did survive to become the backbone of American economy.

When the slaves arrived in this country, families were not kept together. Husbands and wives were separated, children were taken from their parents. These people were sold independently. They were considered not as human beings but as chattel, valuable property which could be sold. In Baltimore, Maryland, there was a legal case involving a man who sold two of his female slaves. Shortly after the sale, one of the women gave birth to twins. So the previous owner went into court with a suit contending that he had sold only two slaves, not four, and therefore the contract did not cover the twins and he wanted them back.

Fortunately the court ruled against him. The man who bought the slaves just happened to come out ahead by suddenly having four slaves when he had only bought two.

From out of slavery we also have the picture of Phyllis, a slave girl. She was sold to the Wheatley family, and as was the custom, assumed that family's surname. Mrs. Wheatley was a kindly woman, and she taught this sensitive girl how to read and write. Phyllis had a talent for writing poetry, and she became the first woman in America to have a poetry publication of any importance.

She was the precedent of a long line of American Negroes who contributed to our arts. We had Ira Aldridge, who was educated in England. The great English actor, Edmund Kean, heard him reciting some Shakespeare down on the docks where Ira was working. Kean recognized his great talent and took him off the docks and into the theatre. Ira was considered the first of the great portrayers of Othello. In Russia there is a stone on which are engraved the names of three great Shakespearean actors. Two of them happen to be Negro -- Ira Aldridge and Paul Robeson.

Many people today tend to skip over Paul Robeson, because he's controversial. I think there is much that we can admire in Paul Robeson, and a black man in this country has very little to look upon in his search for images. Paul Robeson, in addition to being an outstanding student and brilliant lawyer, was a great actor and an extraordinary singer. Yet when he finished college, he found that our country did not have a place for him. He was invited to Russia to do a concert, and there he received instant recognition of his talent. After the concert he remained in Russia for a considerable length of time. Here was a country that did not treat him as something separate and apart but treated him as a man and appreciated the talents he had to offer. During that time, America belatedly acclaimed him as one of her sons. It was only after living in Russia that he was able to return to his own country and be recognized for the ability that he has. It is ironic that we have questioned the loyalty of this man. A happening in Paris some years later brought him into great disfavor. Robeson, in a speech there, stated, "It is unthinkable that a country which denies a people to be a part of its society should expect that people to go out and die for it." The papers in this country reported his statement thus: "The Negro in America will not fight for the United States in a war involving Russia and other countries."

This points up something else. Our news media can, and often does, distort the facts. A few years ago a friend of mine wrote an article for the San Francisco Examiner about some of the demonstrations and things that were happening, especially a play that was being produced in one of the schools. What he wrote and what came out in the paper were two different things. As a matter of fact, I was with him when he was writing the piece, and I was mighty proud. But after reading it in the paper, I felt like going to his house and punching him in the eye as being a traitor to his people.

Another instance of this could be told with the Palace Hotel and Auto Row demonstrations. During the time of negotiations with the Palace Hotel, during the time the ad hoc committee was gathering information, there were many discussions and conferences during which they discussed what was wrong with the hotel industry. The hotel industry recognized that there were not very many Negroes in their field, that they did not hire them except as clean-up people. When negotiations reached an impasse, touching off a demonstration, suddenly the only issue reported by the press and brought before the courts was trespassing, disturbing the peace and illegal assembly. The issue of equality of employment was never mentioned, even when the demonstrators were on trial -- and many were sentenced.

I think it has been said erroneously that Lincoln freed the slaves. It's true that he signed the Emancipation Proclamation, but many feel that he didn't do it out of a desire to free the Negro. He did it because he felt this was the only way for the North to win the war and hold the country together. His Emancipation Proclamation said that all those who were in bondage in states rebelling against the government of the United States would, if they fought for the Union and the Union won the war, then be set free. The proclamation really didn't cover all the states in the war. Some of the states fighting for the Union had slavery, and the proclamation didn't provide any means for freeing those slaves.

These are some of the things which you as teachers can bring out when you're talking about the history of the Civil War. I think it brings into perspective the fact that nobody just handed a bunch of happy slaves their freedom on a silver plate and said, "Go forth and be a part of this nation." Freedom came about because they fought for it.

I was reared in the mid-Western state of South Dakota, in the town of Mitchell. It has a population of 10,000, and at that time there were two Negro families. All the way through school, the only two Negroes I ever heard any history about were Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver. I finished high school just in time for the Second World War. A friend of mine in Navy recruiting kept trying to talk me into going into the Navy after graduation. I told him I wasn't going to spend the war carrying trays and serving white officers. Then, after a few fights and the threatened march on Washington by A. Phillip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, it was decided that Negroes could go into the Navy as seamen and become electricians, machinists, boiler tenders, signalmen, quartermasters and what have you. So when the class graduated, several of my buddies and I (they were all Caucasian) went into the Navy. We were shipped to Omaha, where, on the Fourth of July, something like 10,000 sailors were sworn in. I was pretty proud and elated. After the swearing-in ceremony, we were sent to the Great Lakes.

All of thiswhile, the boys with whom I had grown up, with whom I had served in the Boy Scouts, with whom I had played football and basketball, going on many trips together -- we had the feeling that in the Navy we would all be together as a group out of South Dakota.

We arrived at the Great Lakes Training Center and were taken to a compound where an officer was forming the new men into companies. One by one the names of my buddies were called, as I stood there with my grip. Finally, I was standing there by myself. A couple of my buddies went up to the officer and said, "You forgot Brooks over there." The officer looked at me and said, "Oh yes. Just a moment." So we stood there for another 20 minutes or so. Finally some petty officers came along and started marching everyone off. Again my buddies said, "You've forgotten Brooks. We came here together." The petty officer said, "Well, this company is filled. He'll have to go into another company." So they waved to me and said, "See you later," and I thought, "Well, this is war. You can't expect to always be with your buddies."

Finally a truck drove up. On the truck were several Negro sailors, recruits. The officer told me to get my bag and climb aboard. We then drove a long way, until we came to a new camp, just being built. In fact, we had to drive across planks to get into it. This was Camp Morrow, and inside the gate were nothing but Negroes. I had never seen so many.

Well, they put us into companies, and we started our training. A couple of weeks later my buddies came over to visit me. A day or so later I got a letter from one of them, and he said his commanding officer had told him he felt it would be better if the fellows didn't come back over to visit me. The officer told him, "You know, they don't learn as fast over there. They're going through eight weeks of training; you'll only go through four." This stunned my buddies, to find out that after 12 years of going through school together and competing together in all areas, I suddenly didn't learn as fast as they did.

During the time I was at Camp Morrow, the name was changed to Camp Robert Small. I had never heard of Robert Small, but at the dedication ceremonies they read his biography, and I found out who he was. Robert Small, during the Civil War, was a Negro slave who ran away and captured a Confederate ship and sailed it up to join the Union forces. He was commissioned a captain in the Navy and commanded the ship throughout the Civil War. He was awarded many honors. After the war he was a legislator in our government and also an ambassador to one of the foreign countries. This brought something home to me. I had gone through 12 years of school and thought I was pretty well educated, especially in history -- and here was a man I'd never heard of. If the government knew about this man, why didn't my history teachers know? Why didn't I know? Something was lacking in our history books.

I had another history lesson at Great Lakes. I got into an argument with some of the Negroes who said that Crispus Attucks was a Negro. He was the first man to fall on the Boston Commons at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. I finally sent home for my history book, to prove my point, that he was not Negro. But then my friend brought his book, and many of the other fellows brought theirs, and we finally carried the argument to our commanding officer. He verified that Crispus Attucks was a Negro, and I had another lesson brought home to me which I shall never forget.

It seems to me if an entire ethnic group and its contribution to society is left out of the history of this country, that as they get older they're going to grow farther and farther apart from the mainstream, and there will be less and less understanding. The youngster from the minority group starts to build up a sense of self-rejection. His white brother at the same time builds up a superior attitude and feels, "Well, if you haven't contributed to this country, how can you demand to be free and have a part in it?" Subconsciously, I think this affects a great deal how we feel today and how our racial tensions develop. We wonder why Elija Mohammed and Malcolm X speak of hatred and teach hatred. I have a feeling that much of what they say stems from the fact that they want to make the black man in America feel he is somebody. They're trying to restore some dignity and pride.

If you were to say tomorrow to every Negro in America, "We'll give you $5,000 and you can go wherever you please," I doubt very much that many of them would take the money and leave this country. We're too steeped in the fact that this country was built upon the backs of the blacks, that our forefathers suffered much to make it what it is today. I don't believe you could get many of them to go.

The Negro American has contributed a great deal to our society. Dr. Webster spoke about Jan Matzeliger and his invention of the shoe-lacing machine. Many of us every day on our way to work drive through traffic signals. But how many of us are aware that the stop light was the invention of a Negro, Granville T. Woods? How many of us know that the vacuum system pan for the refining of sugar, which has made many people wealthy today, was the invention of Norbert Billieux, who was a Negro? How many of you know the story of Dr. Charles Drew, who died near the early stages of World War II? Dr. Drew was a scientist who did much experimenting with blood and came up with plasma. He directed the Blood Bank of the British Blood Transfusion Association in England during World War II. He was traveling through Tennessee when he was involved in an accident. Bleeding profusely, he was taken to a hospital. The doctors traveling with him implored the hospital to admit Dr. Drew so that he could be given blood, which would have saved his life. But because Dr. Drew was a black man, he bled to death on the steps of that hospital in Nashville, Tennessee. It is ironic that the man who discovered a way to save so many lives should die because he was denied the use of that which he himself had developed.

Dr. Hale Williams is another man who has contributed in the medical field. He was the first man to successfully operate on the heart.

Dr. George Washington Carver took waste products from the peanut and the sweet potato and invented two or three hundred different products which we are using today. Yet Dr. Carver didn't get wealthy from these things. He felt that the abilities of a scientist and the products of his research should be for the benefit of all mankind. Consequently, du Pont, many plastic companies, our automobile industry, and many of our large industrial plants have made tremendous profits from the results of Dr. Carver's brain.

I always think about this each year when they have the United Negro College Fund Drive, when we spend so much time soliciting funds to maintain our Negro colleges throughout the country and enable our youngsters to go to school. I always wonder what might have happened had Dr. Carver felt that the profits from his inventions should go for the purpose of educating Negroes who are unable to go to school. There would be no need for the United Negro College Fund Drive; there would be plenty of money to send those youngsters to school.

Yet it's a tribute to this man that he had compassion for all civilization. I think this compassion is one of the traits within the Negro, a quality which comes out in Dr. Martin Luther King. I think it is good that we have a Martin Luther King. I think it's good that we have Jackie Robinson and Joe Louis. I also think it's good that we have Malcolm X and Adam Clayton Powell. Even though they don't all agree on tactics and methods, they're all fighting for the same thing.

When people ask why the Civil Righters have so many organizations and why they don't all agree, I usually reply by asking them, "Why do we have Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians and so on?" I think all Christians agree that people should serve God, but they still have their own ways of doing this. If this is so in our churches, then we should be able to understand why there is occasional disagreement between the N. A. A. C. P., the Urban League, the Negro American Labor Council, C. O. R. E. and other organizations. It's the element of tactics and methods.

We find there is also a difference in the methods of writers. A man like Lomax writes very provocatively. Then we have others like Charles Kelly, Fran Yerby and James Baldwin who write in a different vein. Even though the Negro has not been accepted into the mainstream of American society, he is really the product of this society. He is adaptable and capable of functioning. And his accomplishments should not be looked on as something exceptional and apart.

I don't want to close without mentioning the Negro in California history. Mrs. Hernandez mentioned Estevanico, or Little Stephen. He was one of the first explorers of the southwest. Known as Little Stephen, he led several expeditions into the southwest territory and was considered one of the settlers of Arizona and New Mexico. He was eventually killed by an Indian tribe while looking for the lost cities of Ciboli.

We find that in California the original Bear Flag was designed by a Negro -- or rather a Negro drew the bear. Other Negroes in the original Bear Flag Party contributed to the cloth that went into making the flag. We also had people like Mifflin Gibbs who helped fight for the right of testimony in our courts in California.

In the history of California, we can look with pride to the fact that Negroes who worked in the mines as slaves for eight hours during the day for their masters then went back to the mines at night and worked all night to earn wages. This money was sent back to Arkansas, Missouri or Mississippi to buy freedom for wives and children, parents and brothers, and have them brought west. Many of these men had to pay for the freedom of their wives and children two or three times, because the person entrusted to take the money back to the plantation would disappear and never be heard from again. When welfare and some of our agencies strip our homes of the male image, we would do well to remember that there were strong family ties, that there was responsibility to be found in the Negro in our society.

I have placed on the back table some books concerning Negro history. Most of these books are available at our large book stores or can be ordered, and there is a wealth of material. I have also prepared some outlines which I hope most of you teachers will find useful in integrating some of this material into your teaching. This doesn't mean just history classes. If you're teaching science or hygiene, your students can be made aware that the Negroes had contributions to make in those areas too.

I'd like to close with something from Langston Hughes:

"My old mule has got long ears and is just a plain old mule. He's been a mule so long that he's forgotten about race, until he don't give a damn. And I am like that old mule. Black. So you'll have to take me as I am."

Question and Answer Period

Question:

In what branch of the Navy did you serve?

Mr. Brooks:

I came out of the Navy in 1954 as a First Class Machinist Mate.

I'd like to tell you something about that. In 1940, when they started the National Youth Administration training, I was in high school. Many of us who had no income went into this training. We got $24 a month to learn a trade. I was the only Negro in the class. I had been in school for about a month and a half and had never touched a lathe, a milling machine, or anything. I just sat there and sat there and sat there. Finally I went up to the instructor and said, "I've been here for almost two months now, and I still haven't touched a machine." He said, "I'm a machinist; I've been a machinist most of my life. And to be brutally frank with you, as long as I'm teaching in this school, no Nigger is going to learn how to operate a lathe." Ordinarily I would have been fighting mad. I don't know why I wasn't. But I went home that evening and told my father what had happened. He went to the NYA offices and talked to them. A week later the instructor was out of a job. An order had come down that there would be no discrimination in the training of our youth. The letter was signed by Lyndon B. Johnson, administrator of the program.

Question:

Will you please tell us something about the Negro American Labor Council and how long it has been in existence?

Mr. Brooks:

The Negro American Labor Council evolved out of an incident. In 1957 the AFL-CIO convention was held in San Francisco. At that time A. Phillip Randolph made certain accusations against unions and union policy with regard to the minority worker. After he had finished his condemnation of the practices of organized labor, George Meany asked him, "Phil, who in hell designated you to speak for all the Negroes?" Phillip Randolph was at that time president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This membership was of course dwindling, and he was gradually losing his base. So the Negro trade unionists decided they needed an organization which would give him support. In 1960 they had the founding convention in Detroit. Negro trade unionists from all over the country came together and formed the Negro American Labor Council. The first couple of years, organized labor refused to recognize that we were there. But in the last couple of years there has been a closer tie. As a matter of fact, George Meany, Walther Reuther, Bill Schnitzler and all the rest of the AFL-CIO officials attend our conventions. They have tried to help us work out ways for the Negro to be considered a part of the trade unionists. Our avowed goal is that Negro trade unionists must work within the house of organized labor to break down those barriers which exist. In San Francisco, for example, we have one Negro plumber's apprentice. This requires a lot of action from us against the plumber's union. The president of that union is also head of the San Francisco Housing Authority, where he deals primarily with minority groups. I wonder how this man can possibly understand and work in this field when he has fought against integrating his own union -- but he was appointed to the job.

Question:

One of the things you said has a bearing on a question asked by several teachers before you started your talk. I believe you made the statement that the thinking of many American Negroes follows this pattern: "For so long we have not been treated fairly. Now it's your turn to treat us fairly."

The teachers ask, "Just how do we get through?" We have teachers who feel that they are giving 100 per cent, and yet they aren't getting the cooperation from home and family which they feel they should get. If this antagonism towards authority exists for the reasons you state, what can we do to overcome this feeling? And how can we go about really getting next to these children, whom we want very much to help?

Mr. Brooks:

A very good question. For one thing, in working with youngsters in community work, one of the things I think the youngsters bring out is that they are aware of omissions of ethnic groups by their teachers. Therefore teachers should know something about the contributions of minority groups and realize that there are different backgrounds, different home environmental problems, and try to relate to that. I think that then you will start to get a different attitude from the students.

A teacher might ask a Negro youngster to come to class with a report on Frederick Douglass. Or ask the Oriental youngster to tell about the activities of the Orientals in the building of the railroads and mines in California in the early days. Through this type of thing we might start to get favorable reactions and have less discipline problems with many of our minority groups.

Question:

In our school -- and I'm sure this has happened in other schools in the Sausalito District -- a teacher may manage to convince the class of his sincerity. Then, unfortunately, the teacher is absent for a day. A substitute comes in, and chaos reigns. It's very difficult for a substitute, on a moment's notice, to impress the children with his sincerity. What happens next?

Mr. Brooks:

That reminds me of when we used to leave ship and go on shore leave. Chaos!

Perhaps this isn't the place to mention it, but we have been working on the idea that in our school system the student changes teachers too rapidly. A youngster goes to a different teacher each year, as he moves along from grade to grade. And I don't believe that they can adapt to this change. We have been working on a proposal that the first three grades be taught in one classroom, with a team of teachers, and that these students move only once -- into another team of teachers for fourth, fifth and sixth grades. At the time of moving on to junior high, these students would be tested to be sure they are ready to move ahead. We feel the minority-group children are deprived by lack of proper home environment, and that changing teachers less frequently will in some sense compensate. We feel that given a longer period of time, the team of teachers would get to really know the students. We hope, too, that working in teams won't be as tiring for the teacher, that the challenges presented will be such that the teachers will truly enjoy their work.

I would also suggest that in the education of teachers they be required before they are given their credentials to do some sort of field work, either voluntary or with pay, in different types of lower-income areas within the community, so they can really understand what happens in a home where the mother and father are working and are away all the time and that child doesn't have anyone at home. Or what happens when a child grows up in a community where there are no professional people, or even skilled tradesmen, so that he has no experience with success or affluence.

Question:

Can you give our teachers some practical suggestions on how they can help to achieve a better relationship between home and school? If we have a PTA meeting and only 20 people attend; if we talk to parents and they say "yes" and then do "no" the next day, how can we go about achieving a better relationship?

Mr. Brooks:

I think this hinges primarily upon the individual -- what is the teacher's commitment to teaching? There was a time when a teacher's commitment to teaching was such that she stayed many times for two hours after school with students who needed her help. I remember when I finished 9th grade, I had to go back to school every day for two weeks into the summer because I "owed" that many hours for having been bad in the classroom. And there was a teacher there with me. Now I'm not suggesting this should happen, but I do think that a teacher who has a commitment to teaching will also have a commitment to knowing where her students come from. It might involve doing a little volunteer work, maybe one night a week, in the community with some of the community organizations. I think this is one of the ways to achieve rapport with the families and to increase activity within the PTA groups.

Question:

We have one final question. Now that we have the Civil Rights Bill and the Antipoverty Bill, don't you think the civil rights movement will slow down? Haven't these laws changed conditions for the Negroes? Aren't you very close to achieving what you want?

Mr. Brooks:

I think I'll start from the bottom. "Aren't you close to achieving what you want?" No. "Haven't these laws changed conditions for the Negroes?" I would say no to that, too. I think these laws are means to a change, providing the society of our country starts to feel that we should abide by them. But the laws will not mean anything unless people start to say, "This has to work." A lot of people say that laws can't change the feelings of people. I don't think laws are made to change the feelings of people. I think laws are made to be the guidelines for our actions -- and I think we can see in Alabama and Mississippi that the laws have not changed very many of their actions or even provided a guideline.

Think about English law as opposed to American law. When they had those Teddy riots in England recently, those people were found guilty of perpetrating race hatred and were given a definite sentence. Here in this country we have youngsters in San Francisco who are now facing jail sentences merely because they were trying to get an industry to adhere to a principle of fair and equal employment opportunities. At the same time, down the Peninsula, a group of students found selling narcotics to other school children were only reprimanded. The judge thought these children should not have a record, that they should be given a chance and should not be made criminals at this time. I think a lot of this is centered around how society feels. This kind of compromising within our law, this kind of preferential treatment without regard to what is morally right and basically the responsibility of society leaves us in a position that when you ask "Haven't the laws changed conditions?" I have to say no.

And when you ask whether we are close to what we want, I have to say no again.

I have here a pamphlet put out by the General Electric Company which shows Negroes in various areas of their plant. But the thing I'd like you to look at is that each picture shows one Negro in a different state or area of the country -- they're not in one plant, but all over the country.

And I recently spent three weeks with union and management to get a Negro college graduate a job driving a dairy truck. So we're not very close to achieving what we want.

"Now that we have the Civil Rights Bill and Antipoverty Bill, won't the civil rights movement slow down?" On the contrary, I think it is bound to step up. Because these things mean we have additional tools in our legislative machinery and in our legal machinery. It means there's going to be more pressure on the establishment to adhere to these principles and laws as they are stated in our Civil Rights Bill and Antipoverty Bill.

One of the things that's going to be important in the Antipoverty Bill is that the citizens of the community must become active. If they don't, this bill is not going to be of any benefit to the people it was meant to benefit. We have a mayor in San Francisco who appointed an Antipoverty Council of 32 people. Only one person on that council comes from a poverty pocket, and that's Mrs. Eleanor Curry, who came out of Bayview. All the rest are doctors, lawyers and successful business men. They are the ones who are going to determine what the community needs in the way of antipoverty action!

Also, if you'll look at the grants that came from the office of Economic Opportunities -- our governor in California has a $437,000 grant for technical aid. Now what is technical aid? You know the people don't need technical aid. They need practical assistance.

I think of something Sargent Shriver pointed out. In Panama and in South America when they were running all our diplomats out of the country, these same areas sent letters to the Peace Corps saying they didn't want them to leave. That is because the Peace Corps was working with the people and not for the people. I think this is basic.

And I think that if our Antipoverty Act is to work, the people for whom it was meant will have to be included all the way. They'll have to be permitted the opportunity of making mistakes as well as successes. I think if we do this, we or this country can come out with something wonderful.

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